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THE MONARCHY

OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES,

OR

FRANCE,

SOCIAL, LITERARY, POLITICAL.

SECOND SERIES.

BY

H. L. BULWER, Esq. M.P.

Nature and truth are the same every where, and reason shows them every where alike. But the accidents and other causes, which give rise and growth to opinions both in speculation and practice, are of infinite variety.—*Bolingbroke on the true Use of Retirement and Study.*

Revere conditores Deos, numina Deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus facti, sit fabulis quoque, nihil ex cujusdam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex jactatione decerpseris.—*Plinius Maximo Suo S.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

This present volume was, for the most part, written and in the hands of the publisher some months since; and it was only the desire to be perfectly accurate in certain details, to ascertain which a visit to Paris was necessary, that delayed its appearance. It forms the necessary continuation to the volume published a year ago, and called, "France Literary, Social and Political." The new title now added is given in consequence of the author having considered its former omission an error —which it was more essential to rectify in that part of the work which related to recent institutions, than it could have been in the preceding part, which rather treated of the effects of national character and former history.

The necessity of proceeding speedily through the Press, after the unavoidable delay that has been alluded to, has occasioned some few typographical errors which the reader is requested to have the kindness to excuse. Some slight alterations, since certain passages were printed, have taken place.

N.B.—A translation of all French words or sentences not translated in foot notes, is to be found at the end of this volume.

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ПРАВА
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DEDICATION

TO

J. E. HOVENDEN, Esq.

To whom can a writer more properly address his thoughts upon another country, than to one with whose name he has long since been familiar in studying the institutions of his own? I dedicate then these volumes to you, my dear Sir, and allow me to add, that I do so with every sentiment of private friendship, that can add to public esteem.

Any author who now takes up his pen, does so at an eventful moment. There is a season when every seed we scatter upon the breeze, however carelessly, will produce and bear; the soil is quick with an invisible being; thus, an interest may possibly attach to these pages, even though so hastily composed.

That interest, however, will be owing as much to the situation of our own country, as to the situation of the country which I more especially undertake to describe.

Let me then, before proceeding to France, carry your attention, and that of any who now honour me by casting their eyes upon this page, to England!

By many, the spirit of change which now ruffles the public mind is accounted as one of those chance winds, of which no man knoweth whence they come or whither they go—sudden and accidental in their visitation, and as suddenly and accidentally passing away. Is this so?

The links which bound our people to an old aristocracy have long been dropping off one by one from the ancient chain, in which, at the revolution of 1688, society was still bound. Al-

ready on the demise of Anne; the commercial fortunes which then began to spring up from that spirit of commerce, to which the spirit of chivalry under the prudent Elizabeth had turned, counterbalanced the power of the great provincial gentry—the main support of those, who in this country have more exclusively been called the nobility of the land.

The protracted contest for the crown, in which the House of Hanover was ultimately successful, but in which the great bulk of the old families inclined for the House of Stuart, carried on with that civil genius for which we are remarkable, in a series of election contests, accounted for, if it did not justify, the corruptions of Sir Robert Walpole, and ruined the great majority of the patriarchal possessors of the soil. A new race of persons, with names unknown, got possession of those chesnut-avenued seats, which for centuries preceding had belonged to one line of masters. It was then that the peasant and the small proprietor felt a shock in feelings they had long been accustomed to cherish. They met the new squire in the parish church, but they passed fondly by the tombs of his predecessors. The very associations which had hitherto made them respect the possessor of "The Place," now rose up against its purchaser. He was disliked as the new man, more than he was respected as the rich one. First, wealth lost its prestige because it was unaccompanied by birth, and then birth lostits prestige because it was unaccompanied by wealth.

In this manner, that habit of unthinking respect for superior rank, which had almost seemed an instinct, was effaced by degrees, now here, now there. At the same time, too, the increasing business and luxuries of a capital, and the increasing facilities for visiting it, drew a large class of persons yearly to the metropolis, as a matter of course, who formerly only sought it on some extraordinary occasion of business, curiosity, or adventure. This habit did not—perhaps could not—exist long without a London existence rising more and more into importance, as compared with a rural one; until at last, a large portion of the great nobility and wealthy squirearchy began to look upon their provincial neighbours, less as useful friends and adherents to be cultivated in the country, than as vulgar alliances and acquaintances to be avoided in town. Hence that silly principle of exclusion, which ending in

the overthrow of its inventors, has made a condemned and excluded body of that aristocracy, who, entrenched amidst their solitary boroughs and venal corporations, thought they might despise and defy the nation, without which they contrived to rule. Monstrous delusion!

When we altered the form of our constitution in 1832, what made that alteration so enormous, was—that the nobility which governed, had no hold on power, save by that form. They had been acquiring a strength where the people were not, and they had been losing their influence where the people were. They had been extending their authority over the small and decayed villages in Schedules A and B; but from the great towns in their neighbourhood, their domination had been gradually passing away.

And now, while the country was thus slowly and almost invisibly changing its ideas, it was also changing its habits and pursuits.

Not many years ago, two thirds of the population in England were an agricultural population, depending mainly on the large possessors of the soil: at the time I write, upwards of two thirds of the population are a manufacturing population, deriving their support, rather from the lower and the middle, than from the upper classes of society. In the mean time great cities, which may be called empires, have been rising into existence; and during these events, knowledge has been rapidly and widely diffusing itself; and with knowledge, that desire for action, and that passion for power, which are its necessary concomitants.

It is impossible for these causes to exist without their effects. It is impossible for the whole frame of society to have been shifting from under our feet without a great shock taking place in our institutions.

The first sign of this—was in the Reform Bill which would have been carried earlier, but for the French revolution of 1789, and which was doubtless hastened by the French revolution of 1830.*

The second sign of this—has been in the Corporation Bill.

In 1832 we gave the people the power to make laws; in 1835

* One of many proofs, that the destinies of two countries so nearly allied by nature, cannot be wholly separate from each other.

the people have carried a law which will create popular manners. *

These two measures passed—who can doubt as to which way is flowing the tide of future events?

Nor have we here been following a course at variance with the nations around us during the period to which I have referred, or in discordance with that longer portion of human action, which is what we call the history of the world. From the laying of the first stone of the pyramids of Egypt, to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the great masses of mankind have been gradually advancing in condition: and the sacred law which we obey, preached with a divine prescience nearly two thousand years ago, only proclaimed an equality, which passing through two systems —that of chivalry and the church—and aided by a series of almost miraculous discoveries—has been daily advancing from that hour to this.

I look upon it as certain then, that in this country, we shall also see a monarchy of the middle classes, at no distant date;—whether we approach it gradually, slowly, safely, as I believe we shall; or whether we are hurried to it on the blast of some political tempest, which we cannot now foresee, but which the air—charged with electricity—is at any moment liable to produce.

It cannot, therefore, be without interest to observe—that the same year which has advanced us by a new step, and a gigantic step towards such a monarchy;—has shown it, shaking and trembling to its foundations in the country of which I am writing.

Thus our attention is naturally awakened to France; and we anxiously enquire whether the dangers that menace her, are such as we shall have in our turn to experience. Let us then see whether that nation, which possesses more popular ideas, and, in

* If the Lords had altered the qualification of the town council, and succeeded in appointing the town clerk for life, they would have done something, but they would have done much less than they imagined. They would have confined corporate power in certain hands; but they would have left the origin of that power in the community. It would still have been not to those above, but to those below them, that the ambitious among the town's people would have had to look for power; and this would have done what I have said the law as it stands must more effectually do, viz. create popular manners.

some respects, more popular institutions than ours, does not also still possess some trappings of a galling and tinselled tyranny, such as we never saw. In its manners are the traces of former servitude yet visible? Over its laws do those manners yet exercise some influence? In its progress do we remark those abrupt stoppages and rapid movements which show that it has pursued—not the safe and even course?

On the other hand;—is it not true, that the improvements we are looking forward to, will come as the necessary result of others that have preceded them?

Is it not true, that the equality we anticipate will have been preceded by a freedom we have long enjoyed; and that the democracy attaining power will have been educated by an aristocracy that has long possessed it?

Is it not true, that a government of the middle classes in this country would be the government—not of a few of those classes admitted with fear and caution into the gestion of public affairs—but of the great bulk of the people long accustomed to the management of their local concerns?

Is it not true, that a government of the middle classes in England would be a government well suited to the serious and commercial character of the English, as a government of the middle classes in France is hostile to the vain and military character of the French?

Neither would such a government be productive, in both countries, of all the same results. I have to notice a licentious literature, an irreligious people, a philosophy imbued with that spirit of association natural to the state of things amidst which it appears, but covered, at the same time, with the taudry tatters of a depraved licentiousness, the baleful heritage of times gone by. Nobody will believe—whatever mischief might arise therefrom—that the advancing influence of the middling and lower orders of society with us would be accompanied by such consequences. The evils to dread would indeed be of a directly contrary description;—an over fanatic zeal in religion, an extravagant severity of manners, and a temporary absence of those charms of literature and society, which add to the happiness, and ought not to corrupt the manners, of mankind.

To prepare the change that is inevitable, to infuse into the de-

mocracy that is advancing to power, what was great and graceful in the best days of the aristocracy that has long possessed it;—to ingraft on the manly and solid character of the English people, the lofty daring and the cultivated intelligence which in times not remote from these were remarkable in the English nobility;—to join to the popular virtues of economy and industry, the no less necessary qualities (in those who are to guide an empire) of justice, honour, and courage;—to moderate the popular zeal in politics and religion, by a learned toleration for the feelings and opinions of all opponents;—such, it appears to me, should be the desire of a writer who hopes, my dear Sir, for your friendship, and aspires above the mere party aims and politics of the hour.

Some, I know, imagine that every period of civilization is to have the same results. They quarrel with the times gone by, on account of the class which ruled then, as others quarrel with the present, because the power from that class is passing—has in fact passed away. This, I feel sure, is not the judgment of your liberal and enlightened mind. To an independent and respectable nobility, we owe much.

It has enriched our merchants and our tradesmen with the spirit and intelligence of a senate; and preserved the morality of our gentry from the enervating corruptions of a court.

Let us not disdain, then, but embody, our past history in our future progress! This is the way that a great people march on easily and naturally in the road to greatness.

Of old, the seer who sought in vain one of those mysterious luminaries he was accustomed to admire—said, "the star is not lost to mankind; but, attracted to some mightier orb, enriches with the effulgence that I miss—the splendours of a more glorious world:—'" and so, on this pigmy earth—the institutions of one generation, when they apparently disappear, do but pass on to the next; and the great system of society is perpetually brightened by the systems it perpetually absorbs.

It is, my dear Sir, with a sincere friendship, that I subscribe myself,

Yours most faithfully,

HENRY LYTTON BULWER.

James Street, Buckingham Palace, October, 1835.

PREFACE.

A Salutation to all of you, friends and enemies, whom I have had as judges, and before whose tribunal I am once more to appear! Thanks to you who have seen any merit, more thanks to you who have seen any utility in the pages I have, with a deep humility, previously offered to the public. You will agree with me, I have little doubt, as to the imperfect manner in which my task has been fulfilled. You will agree with me also, I venture to trust, in acknowledging there was some difficulty attending its fulfilment.

To paint a country which, visiting every year, every person imagines that he knows—yet which, for the very reason perhaps that it is at their door, few persons have attentively examined—to be met first by the idea that you can say nothing new; and then by the prejudice against all you do say which is not old—to enter last into competition with deservedly distinguished writers, who have wielded the weapons of controversy with a grace and a tact which betray—what their judgment might have concealed—the sex they belonged to;* this was no easy labour to have accomplished with ordinary success; and most grateful am I for that which has been accorded me. There is something indeed in the nature of a work like the present, which furnishes in itself an excuse for its imperfections. On the one hand, the author is called upon to devote much industry and time to the collection of his materials; and this gives his efforts the effect of preparation and research. On the other hand, he is called upon to throw those materials into form with as much rapidity as possible, and this tarnishes his labours with the defects of negligence and haste. Oh reader, who is to be!—did you chance to hear that not long

* See Lady Morgan's *France*, and Miss Berry's *State of Society in France and England.*

since, a small island suddenly appeared on the coast of Sicily; instantly we planted our flag there, so, thank God! it is ours. But it as suddenly disappeared—yes; it is ours—but under the ocean; the sounding sea rolls over it again; and if we had delayed a moment, it would never have been added to our empire, no, never. Such, in some sort, is the shifting scene of life and politics before us, the condition and the fortune of states and of men. We must plant our standard quickly—at the moment—on that fleeting shore;—a minute, and it will be covered by the ever mounting sea, which has already risen over 5000 years.

LIGHT LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

Early species of popular composition—Origin of novels—Chivalric Italian—Heroic Milesian—Later schools—Le Sage—Rousseau—Walter Scott—Anomalous school displayed in melo-drama—General considerations.

In some degree I regret that my volumes open with the subject I am now commencing. But this work must be considered as the continuation of one published a year ago; and which, concluding with history and the drama, left me about to enter on the lighter productions of French literature.

Still, such productions are not altogether unworthy of consideration: they have generally been thought to pourtray, more faithfully than any other, the manners of their time; and although this is not universally correct, it is sufficiently so to engage and deserve our attention.

The earliest species of popular composition was, as we know, heroic poetry; for the art of transcription being rare, and that of reading very confined, to render any composition popular, it was necessary that, grateful to the ear, it should be easily remembered and repeated; nor was there any method of diffusing it but itinerant recitation.

As great towns arose and spread themselves, however, the poet naturally suited himself to larger audiences, and his muse adopting the drama, attained most that we at present know of theatrical art.

But civilization does not arrive so far as this ›int without the existence of a large class who, wealthy, indolen. and refined, require some unfatiguing, intellectual amusement, which, if the stage supplied in any way to those resident in cities, it left it still wanting to all who found themselves in the solitude of a country life.

That such a want should first display itself in the East, seems, from the habits of the people, natural; and we may therefore easily fall into the common belief that it was through the colony of Miletus that prose novels or romances first reached Italy and Greece.

As might have been expected, they treated chiefly of licentious love. In the martial heroism of the middle ages, this species of composition (whether such alteration were Gothic or Arabian in its origin, or merely the natural birth of the existing state of mankind) received a new colouring; and in tales of chivalry and enterprize the spirit of the day was at once represented and excited.

The wanderings of Palmerin and Amadis, however, did not extend to the voluptuous Italy, where the Decameron, similar in its kind to other Italian productions that had preceded it, resembled in some sort the ancient Milesian stories.

The pastoral romance was a reaction from the chivalric and heroic, at the head of which Madame Scuderi may be placed—a kind of prolix medley of the two—owing its success in France, partly to real personages being concealed under a fictitious garb, partly to the character of the French nobility themselves, who, until their independence was destroyed in the court of Louis XIV, had a warlike and enterprizing frame of mind, which the adventures of Polyandre or the "Great Cyrus" might very well interest and please.

But the two species of modern novels* most in vogue, until another of late years appeared, were those descriptive of living manners—at the head of which Le Sage, transporting comedy from the stage to the boudoir, took his place; and those more analytically descriptive of sentiment, of which we must again accord a foreigner, writing in French, J. J. Rousseau, to be the chief. The one was still a comedian while a novelist; the other always a moralist.

Le Sage wrote for Paris and the audience he had been ac-

* What I say of light literature is almost entirely confined to novels, as the most popular branch of it. The only poets out of the drama of any note, are Beranger and Lamartine, and these are already so well known, and have been so often criticised, that it would hardly be worth while to interrupt the course of these observations by repeating what has frequently been better said of their style and merits.

customed to at his theatre: he painted the life of an adventurer to a large city, where every one was struggling to make his fortune—not quite a honest man, yet not a rogue—with few scruples that could prevent his getting on in life: with no crimes that could justly condemn him to the gallies. What he describes is the level of life in large communities such as he resided in: there is no heroic passion,—no enthusiasm of any kind in his story—for the bye-ways of ambition are not romantic. Still the tale of Gil-Blas had great success, for it described, not merely what was passing round the author, but what was passing round most men pursuing the hackneyed existence of what in their separate countries was called—the world.

As Le Sage was essentially the man of the city, Rousseau was as essentially the man of solitude. All that he knew of mankind was what he knew of Rousseau. The only mode he had of describing human nature, was that of describing the workings of his own breast;—he was the creature of sentiment and emotion—so was his book. Indeed, it is easier at a first glance to see why Rousseau should have written the Nouvelle Heloise, than it is at a first glance to see, why the Heloise, appearing amidst the worldly, the polished, the voluptuous, and selfish society of Louis XV, should have had such success. But there are in most men two natures—that nature which they acquire in action and from custom, which makes them do to-day as they did yesterday, and as they see others doing, without reflection or passion, but from habitual impulse—and that other nature—which we only find when we seek for it, but which is in the depths of all our souls; which we find alone, and when we are called upon to think; a nature of higher and nobler energies, such as from the very elevation at which it aims, can rarely be carried into action save by men of great powers. I speak of that source of sublimity within us from which all religions flow; of that source of superiority and strength which we discover in sickness, in suffering, and ofttimes in great perils; raising us above what we have been accustomed to consider ourselves; coming not from stoicism, not from superstition—but simply from solitude and self-commune;—for it

was said wisely and profoundly by the philosopher, "*Enter yourselves—there you will find the Gods.*"

Rousseau and Byron, both different in action from what they were in thought, yet living much in solitude, addressed our more lonely and thinking side of the heart: they spoke to man at the time when he momentarily withdraws himself from the world, not at the time when he is mechanically moving in the world; and this is why they produced a deeper impression upon the mind of their age, and a less impression upon its manners, than others of their cotemporaries.

Thus Le Sage and Rousseau might have lived and written together, as they wrote and lived at different periods; and been popular, not only at the same time, but with the same people.

The two principal styles of modern fiction then, being as I have said, those of Le Sage and Rousseau, the one addressed to the musings of mankind, the other depicting their manners;—a third some few years back introduced itself—of which we possess "the great master," and which supplied a want of the epoch, and more particularly of England, then beginning to be very generally felt.

With the difference of popular institutions, there was, as in that branch of my subject I remarked, sure to be felt a great increase of popular interest for historical productions. The great historical masters of ancient times were remarkable for their style, their thoughts, and their descriptions; the chronicles of the middle ages were mostly dry narrations of facts; and the history that combined them, until the 18th century, was mere compilation. The school of which Voltaire and Hume were the chiefs, addressing itself to men of letters, and writing with partial views, consisted rather in disquisitions upon preceding times, than in descriptions of them. Gibbon is our only great historian who wrote upon the ancient model; but his subject, except in a few particular points, was not one of general interest, and produced only amongst scholars the sensation, which, if it had been a history of England, it would have produced upon English society at large.

The modern French historians, adopting a new and more animated and picturesque way of treating their subject, sup-

plied to their own country, in a great measure, the want that had been felt; and their works, re-published in small numbers, became the most widely circulated of their time. But in England, our more recent histories, possessing great merit in solidity and research, were still more unattractive to the general reader than those that had preceded them.

A desire was felt, which no one satisfied, till Sir Walter Scott, succeeding the Misses Porter, who had already feebly attempted the same line of romance, carried his genius into a school, fore-destined to be popular—becoming what he will remain—the Shakspeare of his time—the great popular historian of England. His success was too extraordinary not to lead to imitations; he has been accordingly imitated in Germany, in Italy, and also in France by men of very considerable ability.

The three most remarkable French romances are:—Cinq Mars, by M. de Vigny; the Chronicle of Charles IX, by M. Mérimée; and Notre Dame, by M. Victor Hugo.

Of these three I should give the first place to the Chronicle of Charles IX, though the least known in this country, and not perhaps the most popular in France. The merits of M. Mérimée are precision and force. There is nothing unnecessarily lengthened in his fiction; the "Chronicle" is but one volume, through which you are breathlessly hurried by a series of dramatic effects. He pourtrays truly, also, no small quality in an historical novelist, in the time of which he writes. The passion, the levity, the superstition, the gallantry, the debauch, and bloodthirsty cruelty of that epoch, memorable by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, are worked up together in his tale, energetically, vividly, but naturally, and without any overstrained reach after colours or force.*

Monsieur de Vigny, more chaste, cold, and sentimental, has not in his romance the quickness and the vigour of M. Mérimée, but his characters are of a higher order, and more minutely delineated.

* The fault of the author's story is, indeed, its subject: faithful to *the period of which he writes*, he violates—how could it be otherwise—in speaking of those gay and lustful scenes over which Italy cast the shadow of her mysterious mask?—the propriety of *that period for which he is writing*. He paints, however, rather the warmth of passion than the subleties of depravity; and, exciting the imagination, does not deprave the heart.

The high spirit and weak character of Louis XV—his eye brightening in the battle and wandering in the council—the stern and ruthless composure of his minister—(the dark side of his nature perhaps rather overcharged)—the chivalry, the sentiment, the daring, and "all-for-love" of the young Cinq Mars—whose pale countenance, melancholy and absent when not lit up by enterprize, and large black eyes and long brown hair follow you from his first appearance at his paternal chateau, until his last upon the scaffold—the light and varying shades of love, ambition, and coquetry which flit across the character of the young Duchess of Mantua—(to obtain whose hand is young d'Effiat's (Cinq Mars) sole object of action)—a princess who had loved in solitude, and is afterwards exposed to the flatteries and fascinations of a court—all these various subjects for the artist are drawn, not perhaps with a powerful, but with a fine and delicate hand; and this romance upon the whole succeeded as the most popular imitation of our inimitable novelist.

To those who wish to see the ancient capital with its innumerable steeples and stately spires, with "its guardian giantess and her tiara of towers," with its miraculous hotel that could lodge twenty-two princes of the quality of the Dauphin—with its gibbets and its pillories which flourished and abounded in the place of that "one miserable guillotine," which now occupies a dishonoured corner of the Grève—and to those who wish to see this dark creation peopled with a motley crowd of Bohemians, students, knights, priests and executioners—the romance of 'Notre Dame' may be taken up with safety and laid down with satisfaction.

In spite, however, of the vigorous and peculiar style, the vivid colouring and dramatic effect of different parts of this remarkable production, its chance of being more than a popular tale of the day is destroyed by its evident struggle after an unnatural originality, and by all the faults and absurdities of M. Hugo's late dramatic compositions.

The lover, whose devoted passion should charm and touch you, appears under the monstrous shape of one of those hideous excrescences that decorate a gothic church—while the graceful and delicate heroine, when delivered up to her executioner,

trembles in his hand—not like an aspen or a rose leaf—but, strange to say—like a galvanized frog!

These romances, however, of the historical school were works of power, and would have had more followers and more success, but for the circumstance I have mentioned; viz. the popular style of history of itself; for where history is written on the principle of being amusing, historical romance supplies no vacuum, and is not likely to be long in vogue.

Of the school of Rousseau, Madame de Staël and M. de Châteaubriand are the only popular followers; though Madame de Thérèse in "Jerome" and "l'Indienne," has produced two eloquent and touching stories, which deserve to be noticed, were it only for the elegant correctness of their style, their frequent profundity of thought, and their absence from all offensive affectation. M. de St. Beuve is also well calculated to have succeeded in the metaphysical novel, had he not, in a composition of which I shall presently give a specimen, sullied the wings of his genius by the dirty and licentious details through which he has directed her course.

In the school of manners, Paul de Kock stands unrivalled—his subjects are low—his language unclassical, and without eloquence—but the persons he describes are true portraits—and the passions he gives them, go through their natural workings. He is by Le Sage what the low farce writer is by the comedian. The characters you are shown are those you would meet with in the omnibus; but they are living portraits, and types of their class. Nor is there any French writer of fiction now living, so likely to have a place with posterity, as one whom many of his tinselled and affected cotemporaries pretend to despise.

I now approach a school—if school it can be called—which belongs to none of the orders I have just described. It does not refer to history—it does not describe manners, nor unfold the natural mystery of the human mind. The objects of its idolatry, insomuch fulfilling the Jewish commandment, are neither taken from things in the earth, nor from things in the heavens above the earth, nor from things in the waters under the earth. They are creatures which we never saw by day, nor ever imagined by night, except under the influence of some unhappy nightmare, more incoherent and extravagant than usual.

All keeping of character, all conduct of plot, all decency of manners, any thing which the novelist of later times has studied to observe, the novelist of this extravagant sect studies to violate.

To write a calm criticism on such literature would be an impertinence. I have therefore endeavoured, by adopting, not a new, but a generally fortunate device, to display with the levity they merit, those absurdities and indecorums which have acquired a certain reputation; and I must beg my reader—who will see by notes annexed, that I have taken almost verbatim from novels much in vogue, the language and situations I make use of—to attribute to me nothing in the following pages, save the desire to cover such want of nature, taste and decency, with all the censure and ridicule it deserves.

Dramatis Personæ.*

LEONE LIONI (*a swindler*).
GALERIAN (*a moralist*).
PRINCESS CLAUDIA.
GOVERNESS OF PRINCESS CLAUDIA.
BARNAVE.
DAUGHTERS OF SEJAN.
CAPTAIN BRULART (*pirate and nobleman*).
AMAURY.
LIBERTY.
YOUNG MAN WITH SKIN.
CATHEDRAL OF AUGSBURG.
CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME.
SATAN.

Devils, Secretaries of Embassy, etc.

Scene a confused medley of Swiss cottages, and houses of ill-fame—Of pirate vessels, and cachemered boudoirs—Of sepulchres and banqueting rooms—In the back ground, Venice surrounded by rocks; and the Morgue enshrined in bowers of roses.

Enter Leone Lioni—Lioni is dressed in a long robe of pale green silk, embroidered with large arabesques of gold and silver.† *Enter opposite a Galerian in chains.*

Galerian (*with arms folded and a meditative air*).—Who, Sir, are you?

Lioni.—I Sir!—I am a man endowed with extraordinary faculties‡—

* All these are characters taken from the romances of the day most in vogue, wearing their own dress, and using, as will be seen from notes, almost exactly their own language.

† See description, in "Leone Lioni." Un homme vêtu d'une longue robe de soie vert pâle, brodée de larges arabesques d'or et d'argent.

‡ Il est certain que Leoni est un homme doué de facultés extraordinaires. Vous savez qu'il a tous les talents, toutes les séductions. S'il assistait à un

have all talents and all seductions: if I am present at a concert, I sing and play better than any of the musicians. If I deign to pass an evening in a small and quiet circle, I enrich by the most beautiful drawings the ladies' albums.

I sketch in an instant portraits the most graceful, and caricatures the most caustic. I improvise too and declaim in all languages. I know every dance in Europe, and dance them all with an enchanting perfection. I have seen every thing, judged every thing, understood every thing; in short *(stroking his chin)* I have read in the universe as if it were my pocket-book.

Galerian.—Ah! I see from the description, you are the keeper of a hell in St. James's Street.* I am a philosopher and a moralist.† No man who has not nearly escaped hanging can be one. Oh! *(with an enraptured air)* the delights of virtue! The pure, the incomparable happiness of that beatified state of the soul which plunged in an earthly elysium.... *(Here the Galerian, speaking and walking rapidly across the stage, and evidently forgetting himself, uses Lioni's pale green silk robe as a pocket handkerchief).*

Lioni.—Oh! Juliette! Oh! my robe!

Galerian (melancholy and as if suddenly awakened from an agreeable delirium).—Pardon, Sir, alas! talking of virtue made me think I was again in the galleys.‡

Enter Governess leading in a beautiful young Princess.

To the Galerian.—Sir, you seem an honourable man, do us a service!

Princess Claudia (with enthusiasm).—Yes, Sir, do *me* a service!

Galerian.—Madam, is what you ask strictly accordant with virtue?

Governess.—Strictly, Sir.
Princess Claudia.—Strictly, Sir. } together.

Galerian (with one hand to his brow, the other gathering up his chains).—Say on, madam.

Governess (with proper dignity).—Sir, my duty to this young lady's parents, my duty to her, but more than all, my duty to myself brings me here to tell you that my pupil desires—to be seduced.§

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concert, après s'être fait un peu prier, il chantait ou jouait de tous les instruments avec une supériorité marquée sur les musiciens. S'il consentait à passer une soirée d'intimité, il faisait des dessins charmans sur les albums des femmes. Il crayonnait en un instant des portraits pleins de grâce ou des caricatures pleines de nerve; il improvisait ou déclamait dans toutes les langues; il savait toutes les danses de caractère de l'Europe, et il les dansait toutes avec une grâce enchanteresse; il avait tout vu, tout retenu, tout jugé, tout compris; il savait tout; il lisait dans l'univers comme dans un livre de poche.

* Lioni is a cheat and swindler.

† See Lelia—the character of Trenmor, the Galerian.

‡ Lelia. "Vous ramez trop vite, Sténio, vous m'arrachez une bien chère illusion. Ce brouillard me trompait; ce froid du soir, et surtout ce calme religieux qui était en moi, me faisaient croire que j'étais au bagne."

§ Lelia, scene between Stentio, Governess and Princess Claudia.

Galerian shakes his head.—Pity me, ladies! I am a St. Simonian, and I swore to "the father" yesterday—abstinence for a month.

Princess Claudia.—Perhaps, Sir (*pointing to Leoni*), that other gentleman——

Leoni (*holding out a hand covered with jewels*).—One hundred and fifty thousand francs, if you please! That's what my beloved Juliette paid me, I assure you; not a farthing less.*

(*While the governess and the young Princess are consulting together, there appears a good looking young man, with a Brutus wig and top boots, leading by the hand a couple of young ladies, in a deshabille of the Roman empire in the time of Tiberius*).

Governess starts.—Oh! Monsieur Barnave, can that be you?

Barnave.—You have said it, madam.

Galerian.—And those young ladies? (*aside*) opera dancers I should say—ah! then they must be virtuous.

Barnave.—These young ladies are the daughters of Sejan.†

Governess.—Good God! M. Barnave, how came you by the daughters of Sejan?

Barnave.—Ah! madam, I see you do not know my *forte*. Such things are always happening to me. I was walking in the Tuileries, composing for the National Assembly, somebody touched my arm, another would have thought it was his mistress—but no; the truth struck me at once; "here," said I, "are the daughters of Sejan!"

Princess Claudia to Governess, and examining the daughters of Sejan with attention).—Are those the daughters that were——

Barnave (*overhearing*).—Precisely, Mademoiselle. Read the last edition of my Memoirs, page 273.

(*At this moment the whole stage is thrown into consternation by the apparition of a tall, terrible looking man, with a pale face, and a long thin nose, and dark thick eyebrows, and hollow cheeks, and a large square chin covered with a beard about an inch long, and thin pale lips, and a clear blue eye, of an insupportable fixety. His common blue shirt fastened round his waist by a cord, is full of holes, his naked legs are brown and hairy, his hands too are covered with filth, but you see at once by their being long and thin, that his ancestors fought with great glory against Charles the Fifth‡*).

Leoni (*recognizing an acquaintance*).—What you, my dear friend! Al-

* See Leoni.

† See Barnave, by M. Janin.

‡ Figurez-vous un homme d'une taille athlétique, avec un visage pâle et plombé, un front plissé, un nez long et mince, d'épais sourcils d'un noir de jais, et des yeux d'un bleu clair et revêtu d'une fixité insupportable, un menton large et carré, des joues creuses, recouvertes d'une barbe épaisse à moitié longue, et puis enfin une bouche bordée de lèvres, minces et blafardes, agitées par un tremblement convulsif presque continuel qui, par exemple, laissaient voir pourquoi ne l'avouerait-on pas, de fort belles dents parfaitement rangées.

Ses mains, toutes malpropres, toutes noires qu'elles étaient, témoignaient

low me, gentlemen and ladies, to introduce my particular friend, the Comte de * * * alias Captain Brulart.

Captain Brulart (with an homeric, or mephistophelic, or rather hyenic laugh).—Ha! ha! ha! *

Princess Claudia.—What very white teeth that tall dirty gentleman has got!

Captain Brulart raises his head.—By all the skulls that I have cracked, (*he advances*) by all the throats that I have cut, (*he faces the Princess*) by all the young ladies that—† (*Here the Princess, who already beginning to blush, had cast down her eyes, was thrown with violence into the modest arms of the Galerian, by a pale interesting sentimental looking little gentleman, with green spectacles, who panting, puffing, running, rushed on to the theatre*).

Galerian.—It is Amaury!

Amaury.—L'ombre est épaisse, la foule est inconnue: les lumières trompeuses du soir éblouissent sans éclairer, nul œil redouté ne me voit. Je me perds, je me retrouve toujours. Les plus étroits défilés, les plus populeux carrefours, et les plus jonchés de piéges m'appellent de préférence: je les découvre avec certitude; un instinct funeste m'y dirige. Ce sont des circuits étranges, inexplicables, un labyrinthe tournoyant comme celui des damnés luxurieux. Je repasse plusieurs fois aux mêmes angles. Il me semble que je reconnais d'avance les fosses les plus profondes de peur de n'y pas tomber: ou encore, je reviens effleurer le péril de l'air effaré dont on le fuit. Mille propos de miel ou de boue m'accueillent au passage, milles mortelles images m'atteignent; je les emporte dans ma chair palpitante, courant, rebroussant comme un cerf aux abois, le front en eau, les pieds brisés, les lèvres arides————‡

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par leur forme longue et effilée, par la délicatesse de leurs contours, témoignaient, dis-je, une certaine distinction de race....

Le commandant Brulart (car il avait un nom et s'appelait Brulart), même aucuns disent un nom ancien, un nom historique, qui, dit-on, illustré sous François I fit pâlir plus d'une fois les généraux de Charles Quint.

* A peine Brulart avait-il terminé ces mots, qui furent accentués lentement, qu'un rire tout homérique, ou plutôt tout méphistophéletique, ou mieux encore un vrai rire de hyène, souleva sa large poitrine.

Atar-Gull, page 182.

† Je te jure par tous les reins que j'ai brisés,
Par tous les cranes que j'ai fendus.
—(Et il se dressa debout).
Par tous les gosiers que j'ai échancrés.
—(Et il marcha sur Benoît).
Par tous les navires que j'ai pillés.

Atar-Gull, page 181.

‡ The shadows are thick, the crowd is unknown: the deceitful lamps of evening dazzle without lighting, no dreaded eye sees me. I lose myself, I find myself again. The narrowest lanes, the cross-ways most populous and

Governess.—Poor young man! What is he in such a fuss about?

Amaury.—Madam, I am devoted to voluptuousness; I run after it, I have been running after it just now, through all the dirty lanes and in all the dirty corners of Paris. I gaze on those dirty lanes, I gaze on the dirty ladies who inhabit them. God forbid I should do more than gaze—no, Madam, I have not lost my virtue.

Galerian.—Oh! Amaury is virtuous!

Young Princess (simpering).—And have you never been in love, Sir?

Amaury.—Love, Mademoiselle! (*with one hand in his breeches pocket and the other on his heart*) love! who, of you all—human lovers!—who of you all amongst these most happy, have not felt even in your most delicious hours wearisome and disgusted? Who, of you all, even in the most voluptuous moment of mortal pleasures, have not desired something above or below what you experienced—have not imagined some capricious and inconstant diversion—have not wished—ay, at the very feet of your idol—sighing forth your passion on a perfumed terrace—have not wished, I say, for some coarse exchange—some vulgar creature passing by?* But, what do I see? (*he gazes with eager admiration, as there enters a slapping and somewhat slovenly wench, crowned with laurel and holding a bottle in her hand of that democratic liquid called 'vin bleu.'*)†

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covered with snares, are to me the most inviting. I discover them with certitude—a fatal instinct directs me.

These are passages circuitous, strange, inexplicable, a labyrinth tortuous and luxurious like that of the damned. I pass and re-pass the same angles. It seems as if I knew beforehand the deepest ditches, from the fear of falling therein. Or, again I return and glance by the peril, with the air of one who flies it. A thousand expressions of mud or of honey welcome my passage—a thousand deadly images reach me; I carry them away in my palpitating flesh, running on, and running back, like a stag tired down—the forehead covered with perspiration, the feet bruised, the lips dry..... (*Volupté.*)

* Qui de vous, amants humains, parmi les plus comblés, et au sein des accablantes faveurs, qui de vous n'a subi l'ennui? Qui de vous, sous le coup même des mortelles délices, n'a désiré au-delà ou en-deçà, n'a imaginé quelque diversion capricieuse, inconstante, et aux pieds de son idole, sur les terrasses embaumées, n'a souhaité peut-être quelque grossier échange, quelque vulgaire créature qui passe, ou tout simplement être seul pour son repos.—(*Volupté, p.* 200.)

† Le peuple, c'est enfin la fille de taverne,
La fille buvant du vin bleu,
Qui veut dans son amant un bras qui la gouverne,
Un corps de fer, un œil de feu.
Et qui dans son taudit, sur sa couche de paille,
N'a d'amour chaud et libertin
Que pour l'homme hardi qui la bat et la fouaille
Depuis le soir jusqu'au matin.—BARBIER.

Barnave.—It is Liberty! (*Liberty staggering forward and singing a melody, of which are distinguished the following stanzas:*)

The Goddess they call Liberty
Is not of ancient pedigree,
A pampered lady fond of ease
Who at a cry will faint;
Dwelling in gorgeous palaces
And daubing her cheeks with paint.

Behold a female stout and strong,
Of bosom hard and large!
Who tramps with terrible stride along
Where shouting squadrons charge.

Her sombre voice is hoarse and high,
Her skin is brown and tann'd;
There's a manly fire in her free eye,
And broad is her brawny hand.

She joys in the roll of the warlike drum,
In the powder's sulphurous smell;
In the gathering people's mighty hum,
And the toll of the alarum bell.

Her lovers are of the populace,
She clasps to her big breast,
Men of her own gigantic race.
And when she is caressed—
It is—the battle won and o'er—
By hands where mud is mix'd with gore.*

Captain Brulart (*regarding his own hands*).—Egad! she means me. Here, Madam (*pulling out a small vial*), do me the favour to put one end

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* C'est que la liberté n'est pas une Duchesse
Du noble faubourg St. Germain;
Une femme qu'un cri fait tomber en faiblesse,
Qui met du blanc et du carmin.
C'est une femme forte aux puissantes mamelles,
A la voix rauque, aux durs appas,
Qui du brun sur la peau, du feu dans les prunelles,
Agile en marchant à grands pas,
Se plaît aux cris du peuple, aux sanglantes mêlées,
Aux longs roulemens des tambours,
A l'odeur de la poudre, aux lointaines volées
Des cloches et des canons sourds:
Qui ne prend ses amans que dans la populace,
Qui ne prête son large flanc
Qu'à des gens forts comme elle, et qui veut qu'on l'embrasse
Avec des bras rouges de sang.

of this in your mouth, and I will put the other in mine—oh! happiness, we will poison ourselves together.*

Liberty (*with rapture*).—Yes; we will poison ourselves together.

(*Captain Brulart and Liberty seen tenderly embracing, with the little vial thus divided together*).

Liberty.—I am poisoned!

Captain Brulart (*taking a piece of the vial out of his mouth*).—Ha! ha! You see my vial had a false bottom; she has taken the wrong end.† Ha! ha!

Galerian.—Alas! alas! Liberty is poisoned! alas! alas!

(*Here a vast crowd of courtiers and secretaries of embassy, stepping down from some little books that may be seen on a small stall, marked, "un sous le volume," join in a joyful chorus.*

'Liberty is poisoned.'

(*In the midst of this confusion occasioned by the sudden and tragic death of Liberty, a young gentleman holding a piece of skin‡ in his hand, glides forward*).

Princess Claudia.—Oh! Governess, look at this young man!

Governess.—I see—upon his young features, is stamped a cloudy grace; in his regard you see efforts betrayed and hopes deceived. The sombre impassibility of the suicide gives to his forehead a paleness, dead and sickly, a bitter smile draws into slight wrinkles the corner of his mouth, but a secret genius sparkles at the bottom of his eyes, veiled by the fatigue of an orgie.§

Galerian.—As when a celebrated criminal arrives in the galleys, the galerians receive him with respect, so let all the persons present, expert in horrors, salute an incomprehensible grief—a wound, of which by instinct they suspect the profundity—thus recognizing one of their princes by the majesty of his garments. Friends, countrymen, and brother novelists, I say, gaze on that sad phiz!||

* Eh bien! mon Arthur, nous mettrons ce mince cristal à moitié entre nos dents. . . . et nous le briserons au milieu d'un de ces baisers délirans. . . . tu sais. . . . *See Atar Gull.*

† There is the same story of a false bottom in the story of Captain Brulart. The only difference is, that he (the captain) is taken in and not the lady.

‡ See Peau de Chagrin. The plan of this tale is—that a young gentleman going to drown himself meets with a magical skin, which is to procure him the gratification of all his desires, but which is to shrink with his possession of each; as it shrinks, his life is to fade, and when it is quite gone, he dies.

§ Ses jeunes traits étaient empreints d'une grâce nébuleuse. Dans son regard il y avait bien des efforts trahis, bien des espérances trompées, la morne impassibilité du suicide donnait à son front une pâleur mate et maladive, un sourire amer dessinait de larges plis dans les coins de sa bouche, &c.—Balzac. *Peau de Chagrin.*

|| Comme lorsqu'un célèbre criminel arrive au bagne, les condamnés l'accueillent avec respect, ainsi tous ces démons humains, experts en tortures, saluèrent une douleur inouïe, une blessure dont ils soupçonnaient par instinct la

Princess Claudia (*regarding the young man with the skin, and sighing*).—Tu as bien souffert, pauvre ange!*

The young man with the skin, looking around him on Captain Brulart, the Galerian, and the Governess.—Thank God! there is nothing here to desire (*He takes out a rule, and measures the skin*).— shrunk one hair's breadth. since I left my lodging! and only because I wished not to wet my feet at that crossing! oh! oh!

Princess (*rushing forward*).†—I have only sufficient voice left to say "I am yours." Oh! never, angel of my life, was man so beautiful!

Young man with the skin (*in a voice hoarse and muffled*).—Fly, fly! What would cure you will kill me.—Oh, Princess Claudia, in giving you a kiss—I give up the ghost—Yes, I die.

Princess Claudia.—Die! and can you die without me? So young and so beautiful! and die! die! but I love you! (*in a deep and guttural voice*), Die! (*she takes his hand*)—Cold! is it a dream?

Young man (*holding up the piece of shagreen skin, and showing it to the Princess*).—No! let us say adieu!

Princess Claudia (*with an air of surprise*).—Adieu!

Young man with shagreen skin.—Yes; this is a talisman; it accomplishes my wishes and represents my life; see what remains of it! If you continue to look at me, I shall wish—and if I wish—there is but this little bit left! just look!—

(*The young lady, taking the shagreen skin, and holding it over one of the lamps of the orchestra, attentively examines the face of her lover and the last remains of the shrinking talisman; but he* (*the youth*) *seeing her thus beautiful from horror and from love, is no longer master of his thoughts*).

* * * * * * * *

(*Enter, to the sound of organs, the church of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg.*) ‡

Cathedral of Augsburg.—Really, my dear Notre-Dame, your part of Paris is so abominably crowded and filthy, that my new gown is tumbled all over, and my satin shoes covered with mud; but here are these gentry of yours who have been horrifying all my German horrors. I think we ought to preach them a sermon.

Notre-Dame.—Yes; let us preach them a sermon!

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profondeur et reconnurent un de leurs princes à la majesté de ses vêtemens." —*Peau de Chagrin.*

* Peau de Chagrin.

† For this and what follows, see end of "Peau de Chagrin," part of which is here translated.

‡ For this humanized appearance of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Augsburg, as well as for the simple and interesting observations of these two elegant churches, I am indebted to the sublime Author of "Ahasuerus," to whom I refer all gentlemen and ladies who wish to become better acquainted with the language and habits of comets, stars, and public buildings.

Cathedral of Augsburg.—Oh, you all-seductive thieves! and virtuous Galerians!

Notre-Dame.—Oh, you all-trustworthy governesses and chaste princesses!

Cathedral of Augsburg—Oh, you, Barnave, and you, daughters of Sejan!

Notre-Dame.—Oh, you Brulart, who call yourself Count D * * * !

Captain Brulart (*drawing a pistol from his belt with one hand, and unsheathing his cutlass with the other*).—Sacre Dieu! what do the old witches mean?

(*He shoots Notre-Dame, and runs the Cathedral of Augsburg through he body; then yawning and wiping his sword, exclaims*).—What a frightful dream! *

(*Satan here enters, followed by a number of devils carrying large brooms.*)

The Galerian (*falling down on his knees*).—Oh God! oh Satan! oh heaven! oh hell!

Leoni (*whipping the mitre off Notre-Dame's head and making toward a trap-door*).—I shall be off for Venice.

Barnave (*gazing tenderly on a little washer-woman who had just handed him a pair of clean worsted stockings*).—Accursed be the first who thought of making of horror a profession and a commerce! accursed be the new poetic school with its hangmen and its phantoms; they have overturned my whole being: and here, whilst I have been observing the moral world in its most mysterious influences, I have never once remarked that the pretty little "Jenny was—become a woman." †

The Governess (*with the Princess in her hand, advancing to Satan and curtseying*).—This young Princess, please your Majesty....

Brulart (*pulling his pedigree out of his waistcoat pocket and commencing a soliloquy*).—"To be or not to be, that is the question."

Satan.—Not to be, scoundrel—here (*to the devils*), sweep this dust off my stage.‡

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* This is one of the "gentillesses" of Captain Brulart. He takes opium, and has agreeable dreams, which he calls "his life," and he murders, tortures, and blows up people, and such like, and after these little accidents—calls out—"quel rêve affreux!"

† "A little washerwoman tells her customers she is going to be married." Je fus frappé comme d'un coup de foudre; il y avait six ans que je la traitais comme un enfant. Je poussai un profond soupir et me levant furieux—"Maudit soit," m'écriai-je, "le premier qui s'est avisé de faire de l'horreur, métier et marchandise! maudit soit la nouvelle école poétique avec ses bourreaux et ses fantômes! ils ont tout bouleversé dans mon être; à force de me faire observer le monde moral dans ses plus mystérieuses influences, ils m'ont empêché de remarquer que cette jolie petite Jenny n'était plus—un enfant."

M. JANIN.—*L'Ane Mort et la Femme Guillotinée.*

‡ See Ahasuerus again, who has introduced this new scene.

CHAOS.

Thus, much of light literature in France is what I have painted it—a kind of phantasmagoria; not without talent, but without all that renders talent touching and respectable.*

But it is far more interesting to inquire into the causes and effects of this strange perversion of ability, than to prolong our criticism upon the writing to which it has given birth. To what then are we to attribute these extraordinary productions —and what are they in their turn likely to produce?

In the first place, the popular style which history and other works of information have adopted, has abridged the numbers of light readers, and taken many of the soberer minded and better informed from that class to which the novelist ordinarily addresses himself. The consequences of free institutions has also been to withdraw from the paths of elegant and popular literature a considerable portion of those who from their talents, and situation in life, were likely, as long as the novelist felt they were an influential portion of his readers, to moderate his extravagancies and correct his taste.

Married women, too, in France are far more occupied either in society or in the direction of their husband's affairs than with us, and unmarried women, in respectable life, are kept more strictly and more retired.

Young men, then, and kept mistresses form a vast proportion of the admirers of works of fiction; and for these, conse-

* Monsieur Sue would be forcible if he were not extravagant; Monsieur Balzac graceful and affecting, if he did not struggle to be fine, and degrade himself by being licentious. Monsieur Janin is clever, witty, brilliant, but without coherence in his larger works; and, dallying, as it were, with his own fancies, he resembles the smith, who having used the anvil with force, stops in his labours to amuse himself with the sparks. G. Sand—or, to drop a mask which nobody preserves, Madame Dudevant, is in all respects an extraordinary person, and if she merit the chastisement, wins the admiration of the critic. Her style is the most eloquent of the epoch, and though on some occasions spoilt by modern affectations, is at others tinged with that antique and sacred colouring which Rome gave to her saints, and Judea to her prophets. As wholes, her works, it is true, are false and forced, but they contain parts, natural, eloquent and true—passages rife with the emotions and the experience of their daring and beautiful authoress.

quently, a vast proportion of such works are written. They do not therefore express the manners or feelings of society; neither do they form those feelings and manners. In old times, indeed, they did both; because they were then written for a higher order of persons, who, determining the ideas and habits of their time, also represented them. But these persons are now more seriously employed; and thus, strange as it may appear, it is because the French have become more serious, more instructed, and more occupied, that their lighter literature has become less creditable to the public taste.

CHAPTER II.

Neglect in promoting Community of Thought between the French and the English—A Rogue of Ability and an Honest Man without Ability—Titled Incapacity—Principal Newspapers of Paris—The Constitutionnel—The Journal des Débats—The Gazette de France—The Quotidienne—The National—M. Armand Carrel.

In commencing this chapter, I am obliged to call attention to the melancholy fact, that we have had ministry after ministry, prating about the advantages of a French alliance, sending ambassadors to Paris, concocting treaties with France, and neglecting the only means of establishing that sound and solid treaty with the French people, which arises from a communication of thought—an approximation towards sympathy in opinion.

The Duke of Richmond, a man of more activity and intelligence than his predecessors, says, in a letter to Lord Althorp:* —that the circulation of foreign newspapers in England and the transmission of English newspapers to foreign countries have hitherto furnished their sole remuneration to certain persons in the post-office; and that if salaries were paid to these persons, such salaries would amount to 3500*l.*

* See "Papers relating to the Post-office."

"It is," continues his Grace, "for the Treasury to decide whether it should burthen the country with this 3500*l.* for no other purpose but supplying a few persons, who wish to receive foreign journals in this country or English papers abroad, with an article of luxury.

"The circulation of foreign journals, in this country, and the transmission of English newspapers abroad, has been from time immemorial the privilege of the officers of the foreign post-office, and the proceeds form the sole remuneration for official services to the head of that office and fifteen clerks.

"If salaries were to be paid to those persons, the aggregate would not amount to less than 3500*l.*, and it is for the Treasury to decide whether the revenue shall be burthened with an additional charge to this extent; and this not for the purpose of any general advantage to the public at large, but solely for the relief of *the few* who are desirous of receiving foreign journals in this country, or English papers abroad, as an article of luxury."

What! is this all that a minister, a cabinet minister, presiding over one of the most important state departments—is this all that he sees in the free circulation of the opinions of one country among the people of another?

The Duke of Richmond is a clever man; but were we to estimate his mind by the observation I have quoted, we should most assuredly deem it ill qualified to use advantages and appreciate the nature of his situation.

Let us not quarrel with this nobleman for one inadvertence; but let me say a word or two here on the system which too often introduces into power men unworthy of being compared with him, and who are chosen—not from their talent, but their rank—to which, perhaps, he himself notwithstanding his ability chiefly owed his elevation. I detest the cant which condemns men because they are of noble birth; but I also despise the mockery of selecting them merely for their pedigree.

You shudder, my countrymen, at the idea of a rogue being elevated to an important office in the state, and your feeling is honourable to the national character of England. But what is the difference between a rogue of ability, and an honest man without ability? why, just this: the one does as much good to himself as he can with as little harm to you; the other does you incalculable injury without benefiting himself.

Besides, even let us suppose a political villain as bad as he can be; let us suppose that he plays in the funds, ruins the

stockbrokers, and provides for his relations—whom does he injure?—a few individuals of the present generation.

A fool, however—an honest fool, scatters more far and wide the effects of his non-intelligence; he insinuates his stupidity into all parts and branches of the state, into all corners and classes of society, into all interests, and into all opinions.

That stupidity affects the bread you eat, the clothes you wear, the books you read; and not only does it affect *you*, but *your grandchildren's children;* its dull shadow is cast far into futurity, and blights all things within its baleful reach.

Rank and wealth afford every advantage for acquiring knowledge; as such they should be valued and respected; so far the intelligent people of England—prime minister, whoever you may be!* will go with you. But you should not take the means for the end, or make a man a minister because he is a lord, any more than you should make a man a professor of mathematics because he has been left a case of astronomical instruments.

Act otherwise! and do you know where it will lead to? Place titled incapacity in conspicuous situations, and you will arrive at the very point which you wish to avoid!† Make persons ministers on account of their rank, in the present state of opinion and intelligence, and you will find that the people will look with distrust and loathing on men of rank in spite of their ability.

Let us beware how we tread, even lightly in this course! Let us beware how we inspire the belief that a lord is made a minister at home, or an ambassador abroad, merely because he is a lord.—Let us, in God's name, beware how we allow it for an instant to be supposed that any family, or set of families, pretend to make an hereditary estate of the public service!

But at last it appears that some change is really to take place in our post-office arrangements; that there are some individuals penetrating enough to perceive, through the opaque bodies of frowning clerks, that the gratification of a *few* luxu-

* This exhortation would, I need not say, be unnecessary, if addressed to the present Prime Minister.

† The Duc de St. Simon, who tried the experiment, acknowledges that nothing was so likely to hasten the movement he wished to prevent—as the failure of his scheme, if it were defeated—and the public exhibition of great men testifying their incapacity in great places.

rious gentlemen is *not all* the benefit that can be derived from an interchange of daily opinion between France and England.*

And now, at the moment when French journals arrive more cheaply to our hands, let us enquire into their character and their influence; the opinions and the classes they represent; and the advantages and the causes of a general newspaper system altogether different from our own.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PAPERS AND THEIR SUBSCRIBERS.

	Departments.	Paris.
Moniteur.	850	500
Constitutionnel.	8,300	3,500
Débats.	5,900	4,000
Gazette de France.	6,700	2,000
Temps.	4,000	1,200
Courrier Français.	3,500	1,800
Quotidienne.	3,700	1,000
National.	2,700	1,200
Messager.	400	700
Tribune.	850	800
Journal de Paris.†	1,800	900

If you happen to see, sitting in one of the classic chairs of the Palais Royal, a little grocer with rather a pinched-in mouth and a pair of dusky brown spectacles—or if you happen to see a good, fat, red-faced dealer in sausages, with just sufficient wrinkles about the eye-brow to show a kind of lurking anxiety to have something—besides an ill-natured wife to find fault with—if you happen, I say, to see either of these gentlemen particularly busy over a paper some fine summer

* See Appendix for what *has* been done.

† These are the principal newspapers of Paris, and but a short time since the newspapers of Paris formed the French press. Since the revolution the number of provincial journals has very considerably increased: partly owing to the long provincial agitation by which the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty was preceded; partly owing to the commercial movement which has lately taken place in France, and which, awakening attention to local affairs, teaches men to benefit the state in improving their own canton or their own commune.

The principal provincial newspapers are:
Journal de Rouen,
Précurseur de Lyon,
Mémorial Bordelais,
and the journals of Nantes, Marseilles, and Hâvre.

evening in the Palais Royal, be sure—that paper is the *Constitutionnel!*

The *Constitutionnel* took its birth at the restoration, and was founded by MM. B. Constant, Etienne, Jay, etc. The shares, originally worth 5,000 francs, are now worth 2, or 300,000, and produce frequently upwards of 20,000 francs a year.

The immense advance of this paper gives an interest to the manner in which it is conducted. This manner is a peculiar one. Let us transport ourselves into a large room, where a number of people are assembled, all shouting, spouting, disputing!—Let us listen! the value of an opinion is discussed, as the value of rice, indigo, or any other marketable commodity might be. Here we are amidst the shareholders of the *Constitutionnel*, who thus debate, week by week, the best course for the paper to adopt—i. e. the course most likely to please its readers.

Those readers are what would be called in France *la petite bourgeoisie*,* a class singularly averse to great changes, and never quite satisfied with what exists. A class that requires in its journal a mixture of satire and plain sense—but of that kind of plain sense which is mixed up with a tolerable share of popular prejudice. For the small French shopkeepers there are but two colours—black and white. The devil, for them, has still immense horns and a long swishy tail. There is no idea to which they do not give some material form, or with which they do not connect some pet or popular name. To please these good folks, you must paint in your expressions, and here is where the *Constitutionnel* has always been most successful. "*Les jésuites à robe courte*," "*les seïdes du pouvoir*," such were the terms in which this journal spoke of that awful sect, the hobgoblin of the restoration! Never did there rise a morning that it did not hold forth upon the disciples of Loyola and their dire machinations; while the chuckling citizen felt a self-conceited pleasure in hearing of the great power and the terrible plans of his mysterious enemy. The *Constitutionnel* has another quality not to be forgotten. It is

* The small shopkeepers.

the best teller of a murder, out and out, among its cotemporaries. It dwells upon every horrible particular—it dilates and gloats upon every abominable fact—it would have lived a century on Thurtell's murder or the Cock-lane ghost—a strong proof, by the bye, of what I said in speaking of the drama, viz. that a taste for horrible tales and terrible spectacles results rather from a coarseness of manners than from a depravity of morals.

I observed, a few minutes since, that the *petite bourgeoisie* are averse to all great changes, and never quite satisfied with what exists. This is just the tone of their organ. No paper has such a horror of a revolution, or sees the red cap of '93 so visibly in the front of a republic—yet no paper protests so constantly against being ministerial. "'Tis a great pity—no one regrets it more; but not a party, not a person, not an opinion, is just what it should be." This is the tone of the *Constitutionnel;* when it attacks the government more openly, it does so not upon a principle but an act; the brutality of a police agent, the bad lighting of a street, the extravagance of a *fête*. If any doubtful case of home policy arrive, off the *Constitutionnel* starts with some question of foreign policy. The French have been insulted at Ancona; the English wish to take possession of Algiers; the Prussians are meditating an ingress into France; out comes the tri-coloured flag; your eyes are dazzled with the glory of France; a day or two afterwards, *when opinion is decided*, the *Constitutionnel* returns home, and takes the *popular* party.

This paper, with all its faults, however—common in its sentiments, and not peculiarly elegant in its language—is, notwithstanding, the most useful, as well as the most popular in France; because it constitutes a kind of intermediate link between the higher *bourgeoisie* and the people, and fills up that space between the legal and the illicit papers, which is so unfortunately and fatally vacant in England.

As the *Constitutionnel* is the organ of the *petite bourgeoisie*, the *Débats* is the organ of the great *bourgeoisie* in France.

No paper has been so attacked for a variation in its principles as the *Journal des Débats*, formerly *Journal de l'Em-*

pire. The principles it has advocated have been different, but the party it has remained attached to has ever been the same.

The *Journal des Débats* has always represented the *bourgeoisie supérieure;* the higher branch of that body which we call the middle classes in England, and which is, more than any other, interested in the maintenance of order, in the security of property, and in peace.

The advocate of the empire, when the empire was a guarantee for that political stability, without which commerce and industry find it difficult to exist—in turn imperialist, royalist, carlist, and philipist—advocating no particular dynasty, and only leaving Charles X. when his monarchy became as much a struggle between two castes as between two opinions—such has ever been the *Journal des Débats;*—organ of the most important class in France, and naturally invested with a corresponding importance. No paper has so large a circulation *in Paris*, nor is any paper sustained with more tact and ability.* To any one wishing to see the progress made by France in the last fourteen years, and the progress made more especially by that class which is now at the head of affairs, I recommend a comparison between the *Journal des Débats* of 1834, and a paper of the same title in 1820. You see a pigmy by the side of a giant. In the first place the *Débats* of 1820 is about one quarter of the size of its robust successor; then look at the paper, at the printing! and above all compare the style and the writing!

In short, in this paper and its progress behold a type of the body it is addressed to.

As early, however, as 1815, MM. Villemain and Salvandy mingled in the politics, and MM. Geoffroi and Hoffman in the literature of the *Débats.* M. Bertin de Vaux, the present peer, was also one of its principal supporters; and along its pages has at times glanced the eloquent and fantastic pen of M. de Châteaubriand.

The *Gazette de France* has some resemblance to the *Standard* of England. It is written with singular talent, and

* I believe, almost entirely the property of Messrs. Bertin.

advocates monarchical principles with liberality, eloquence and ability. *A royalist paper* among a people of republican feelings its sale increases.*

The *Gazette de France* was in its glory at the time of M. de Villèle; it opposed M. de Polignac; and since the revolution of 1830, has taken a singular and most subtle direction. During the restoration it attacked openly and ingeniously the constitutional doctrines that were then in vogue, always respecting, as the despotism of Bonaparte would have respected, the French passion for equality; and contending, with much impudence and plausibility, that it was an absurd prejudice to suppose that birth had ever been any barrier to the success of intelligence. It has now, keeping in view, however, its ancient course, and departing as little as possible from its ancient principles, taken a yet bolder and more popular tone of discussion.

To the charter of the restoration, its system of election and centralization, it opposes an enlightened view of the ancient constitution which Richelieu and Louis XIV destroyed; contriving thus to trim up a very decent romance from the chronicles of those dead times. Already, in a masterly and well known view of the revolution of 1789, there had been fashioned from disjointed fragments a political Frankenstein of this description. I say a political Frankenstein—for as the magnificent but horrible creation of Mrs. Shelley was not a man resuscitated, but the shreds and patches of a variety of men combined into one form, so the constitution of M. le Maistre was not the constitution of any one time, but the bits and pieces of a variety of times, such as had never in reality existed, and harmonized together, —and which, now for the first time wrought into a compact shape, bore a pale and livid aspect among existing things.

It is, however, this creation of M. le Maistre which the *Gazette* reproduces and applauds.

The regenerated resurection of the old provincial governments—the organization of primary assemblies, which, in

* It is in this paper that the ancient *Etoile* and the old *Journal de Paris* are now melted down. MM. de Peyronnet and Villèle were among its contributors.

many instances (the right for example, of choosing a regency), would exercise a direct and mimediate power.—Such are the demands of the *Gazette de France*,—demands which, in a certain degree, meet the claim for universal suffrage on the one hand, and a desire still existing in many parts of France for independence from the capital, on the other;—demands intended to take the power from the *bourgeoisie* of the towns, in order to place it in the hands of the provincial gentry and their dependents.

Here is the difference between the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne*:

The *Quotidienne* does not poetize with its opinions. It does not show you royalism as it *might be* in its theatrical and popular costume, but as *it is*. There is no disguise of party hatred, no dressing up of political opinion. It has the talent which the Morning Post has lately acquired; it has at the same time the bigotry of its English cotemporary.

The *Gazette de France** is the journal of the young and enlightened royalists of Paris, who are glad to see their principles put into so popular a garb. The *Quotidienne* is the journal of the old-fashioned nobility, who still remember the royal coaches of Versailles. The one has been wittily called the *procureur* of legitimacy, the other the *avocat*.

The *Gazette* talks of a King and a nobility as the best for the people;—the *Quotidienne* puts the people quite out of the

* The *Gazette de France* is chiefly the property of an individual, M. de Genoude, and its conduct is supposed to be the suggestion of M. Lourdoueix.

These two gentlemen were employed together during the restoration. M. de Genoude as *Conseiller d'Etat*, M. de Lourdoueix as *Chef de Division des Beaux-Arts*, in the office of the minister of the interior, and as *Censeur royal!* I call attention to this occupation, as it is amusing enough to find in the *Censeur royal* of the restoration, the advocate of the unlimited liberty of the press at the present time; to which I might add, that the liberal M. Etienne of the *Constitutionnel* occupied (and filled rather cruelly towards Madame de Staël) the same odious office of *Censeur* during the time of the Empire. M. de Lourdoueix is a man of talent and imagination, and gives to what he writes a colouring that is peculiarly favourable to newspaper success.

The review of the theatres is given to M. de la Forest, who wrote better formerly than he does now; and M. Bossange, formerly a bookseller and a liberal, has replaced, as a literary reviewer, the celebrated M. Colnett, whose articles contributed at one time to give a high literary reputation to this journal.

question;—but, dark in its doctrines, this paper is neither stupid nor nebulous in the style in which it displays them.

The *Constitutionnel* and the *Débats* are the journal of the *Bourgeoisie* great and small; the *Gazette* and the *Quotidienne** of the nobility, violent and moderate. The two first are the advocates of the government of Louis Philippe, more or less devotedly:—the two last are the advocates of Henry V., and the fallen dynasty, but with equal distinctions.

I am now about to speak of a paper, remarkable before and since the revolution for its talent, and which differs essentially from any I have yet named, in respect to its opinions.

I mean the *National.*

There is this satisfaction, thank God, in speaking of a foreign country, that one is not only free, but even supposed to be free from all party influences and personal affections.

If, in speaking of England, you were to say—that it will be difficult for any ministry, not containing Lord Durham, to satisfy the country, which has been won as well by his bold spirit as by his practical intelligence: if, in speaking of England, you were to say this—some time serving clerk would remark, that to attach yourself to any man is to injure your chance of office.

If, on the other hand, you said, that you considered Sir Robert Peel many degrees superior as a parliamentary leader to any man in the House of Commons, some excellent whig would remark, with indignation, that he was astonished you should speak in that way of a tory!

Nay; there are some who will look at me with astonishment

* This paper, formerly directed by M. Laurentie, whose monarchical and religious talent had passed into a proverb, has lately been deserted by that gentleman, and is at the present time, I believe, conducted by M. de Brian, a gentleman of high reputation. M. Netman is one of its ablest writers, and every Monday there appears from his pen one of those political articles, half-serious and half gay, which have in France such success.

The literary and dramatic part of the *Quotidienne* is conducted by M. Merle, formerly Director of the Porte St Martin, at Paris, and secretary to M. de Bourmont in his expedition to Algiers. This part of the paper is usually written not with very great ability, but in an enlightened spirit. M. de Balzac, the popular romance writer of the day, is frequently a contributor.

for having observed—that I think many articles in the Morning Post remarkable for their point; and that I confess the Standard to be edited by a man of ability;—and, if in the same breath, I praise the style of the Examiner and the Register—what will be the consequence? I shall pass with half my cotemporaries for a living olla podrida of opinions.

But thank God, I say, that I can push far from me all these little and hateful considerations, as I find myself face to face with M. Thiers and M. Carrel*—the two most remarkable men in France: one the editor of the *National* before the revolution—one the editor of the *National* since the revolution;—one most probably a minister, when this sheet is printed;—one most probably a prisoner;—such, in the shifting scene of politics, is the fate of former friends!

M. Armand Carrel, a young officer in the French army, when in 1823 it entered Spain, went over to the Spanish constitutionalists, and was condemned to death by a council of war at Perpignan. This decree, however, was revised by a council of war at Toulouse, and M. Carrel, owing, it is said, to the private friendship of some of the judges, was acquitted. Upon this M. Carrel came to Paris, and engaged in the conduct of "the American Review," a publication now extinct, and which in its title explains the principles that this young man then entertained, and has since announced with so remarkable a talent. Pale, tall, and handsome, with a countenance agreeable but severe, and manners somewhat haughty and bousque, with the air rather of a man of war than a man of letters, M. Carrel is a singular exemplification of the great extension of that military influence to which I elsewhere alluded, and which distinguishes the journalist of France from any of his literary cotemporaries.

In correspondence with his person, M. Carrel's style is stern and simple, but there is an ardour and a glow in that simplicity,

* It is not necessary that one person should be the unprincipled advocate of disorder, because he is opposed to the government of Louis-Philippe, nor that another should be a base hankerer after place because he supports it. The unscrupulous abusers of M. Thiers and of M. Carrel are by me equally condemned. Indeed no curse to which a nation can be doomed, is greater than this rage for vilifying the private character of public opponents—for there is no curse so likely to wither and dry up the virtue of public men.

which affects you the more deeply from its total freedom from affectation. M. Carrel makes no secret of his republicanism, and dreams of placing the constitution of the United States, taken from the weird banks of the St. Laurence, and the strange mountains of Pensylvania, amidst the manners of the Champs-Elysées and the Boulevards.

Of all visions, this is the most virtuous and the most wild. If France arrive at a republic, it neither will nor can be the republic of America.

You cannot blot out the history, nor change the character, nor alter the situation of a country. And the history of France, and the character of France, and the situation of France, are all different from the history, and the character, and the situation of America. Tell me the constitution of America suits the people of America, and you tell me that it does not suit the people of France!—If a republic take place in France, it will be a military and a literary republic, as that of America is destined to be a peaceful and a commercial one.

But though I differ from the opinions, I admire the character of this honest and remarkable man.*

Well, therefore, can I conceive that there is in France, a party to which the editor of the *National* is an angel of light and wisdom—a political Apollo—and many, indeed, were those who used to prostrate themselves in the *bureaucratic* temple, where at 2 o'clock he responded to the faithful! Then and there it was that all phrases and opinions were unscrupulously sacrificed to his presiding veto; while the most ardent republicans, such is the force of character and ability, bowed down with pleasure to this Napoleon of the press, and clung to an absolute and voluntary dictatorship.

When M. Carrel assumed the direction of the *National*, he published the following singular and distinctive paragraph: "*La responsabilité du National pèse en entier, dès ce jour,*

* Up to the time of its too boldly hoisting the republican flag, the *National* was frequently honoured by contributions from the able pen of M. Odillon-Barrot; M. Arago still occasionally writes for it, and M. St. Beuve, an author of a very peculiar style,—every sentence is so minutely chiselled, every thought so minutely developed,—added until very lately, by the talent and reputation of his literary articles, to the weight and popularity of this journal.

sur ma seule tête; si quelqu'un s'oubliait en invectives au sujet de cette feuille, il trouverait à qui parler."

Was I not right when I said the great journalist of France had assumed the place of the great Lord? Is not this rather the defiance of a chivalric noble, than what we should call the puff of a newspaper editor? Why then say there is nothing in the character of a people, or tell me that I am light and frivolous, if I venture through its various ramifications to track it out? The dullest critic cannot despise me for the comparisons I have sometimes made, so much as I slight and despise those, who deem that the past is separate from the present—who consider that the destiny of a nation depends wholly upon its immediate and material interests—wanting the philosophy which they condemn the want of—and incapable of enlarging their dim intelligence to the view of those moral, but not, inferior causes* which have descended to us, an unavoidable heritage from far distant generations!

What the *Gazette* is to the *Quotidienne*, and the *Constitutionel* to the *National*—the *National* is to the *Tribune*.†

This last paper almost treats M. Carrel and the *National* as aristocrats. It is supposed to be in the pay of the Bonapartists; and having a certain circulation in the *ateliers*, possesses in M. Marrast, its editor, a man of ability.

* *Le Bon Sens*, a republican paper, not long established and at present not widely circulated, is written notwithstanding, with very great ability, and contains in MM. Cauchois Lemaire, l'Herminier, and M. C. Didier, most able and eloquent contributors.

† The *Tribune* has lately ceased to appear.

CHAPTER III.

Opera Box of the Temps Newspaper—M. Thiers—Eminent Writers in Newspapers—Different Rank held in their respective countries by the French and English Journalists—Effect of High Taxes connected with the Press—System of Governing by Wealth—Education of the Working Classes—Unjust Restriction—Its Consequence—Advantages of the low price of Newspapers in France—The Daily Press in France embodies more of the Intelligence of France, than the Daily Press of England does of the Intelligence of England—Folly of a System of Persecution—Extent to which this System has been carried by the Government of Louis Philippe.

If you went to the French opera and saw a very large and very brilliant box rather larger and more brilliant than any other—whose would you suppose it to be? The king's? no: a minister's? no: an ambassador's? no: a Russian prince's? no: an English lord's? no: a French peer's? a deputy's? guess again:

That box is the *Temps* newspaper's!

What! a newspaper have a box at the opera? to be sure;—that box is where the newspaper does the greatest part of its business.

You see that fat smooth-faced little gentleman, and that tall thin pale figure in spectacles—one was a great man a little time ago, the other expects to be a great man soon. The editor is giving these statesmen an audience. They tell him their views, he listens. They tell him the strength of their party, he takes a note. They tell him what course they mean to pursue, he proffers advice.

The editor is a clever man. This is his way of conducting his journal. He pretends that to influence the politics of the day, and indeed to know the politics of the day, he must know the political men of the day. He makes his paper the organ of a party, and he makes himself the head of the party. But how to keep this party together?

He used to give dinners—he now takes an opera-box. I do not know any thing that better paints the character of the

French, or of the state of France: than—the journalist at the head of his political party—assembled—in a box at the opera.

In England a paper has immense consideration; but the editor, however respectable, little. You rarely hear him spoken of—in few cases is he known, unless pelted on some accidental occasion by public abuse into notoriety. As for newspaper writers, they are generally held below surmise. We do not think it worth while even to guess who they are.

There seems on all sides the most ignorant willingness to submit to newspaper despotism, coupled with an equally ignorant contempt for those who direct it.

When M. Thiers paid a visit to London a year ago, the English papers and the writers in these papers, strange to say, affected to sneer at M. Thiers, because, forsooth, he had been a writer in a newspaper. I need hardly remark that they showed, by such conduct, a very mean opinion of themselves, and a very gross ignorance of that country in the affairs of which M. Thierstakes so conspicuous a part. It is difficult to point out a public man of any eminence in France, who has not written in a newspaper.

M. Benjamin Constant, M. de Châteaubriand, M. de Lalot, M. de Villèle, M. Salvandy, M. Villemain, M. B. de Vaux, l'Abbé de Pradt, M. Arago, M. Odillon Barrot, have all written in newspapers; and the only man worthy of being put into competition with M. Thiers, at the present moment—the only man whom at the time I am writing, the dynasty has seriously to dread, is that gentleman who lately sought a refuge on our shores,* and whose talents and integrity have been made visible through the channel of a daily journal.

These are facts: into the causes of these facts—the advantages and the disadvantages attendant upon these facts let us, inquire!

It has been said that the different rank which the French and English journalists hold, in their respective countries, is chiefly attributable to the English newspaper-writer being anonymous and the French not.

There is an error here; and the effect is mistaken for the

* M. A. Carrel, of whom I have been speaking.

cause. The different degree of respect which the writers in French newspapers enjoy cannot proceed from the signature of their names, because the political writers in the French newspapers (the class most considered) do not sign their names. They make no mystery of their names, certainly; they usually acknowledge and even boast of their productions—but they do not sign their names, and might be anonymous if they pleased it. It is not because they publish their names that they are respected—it is because they are respected that they make no secret of their names.

To ascertain the cause of this, we must ascertain the causes which constitute the success of a paper in France and the success of a paper in England.

What makes an English journal so powerful? a foreigner arrives in England—he goes to the Traveller's—he hears his neighbours say: "I do not think the ministry can stand, see how the——attacks it." "Is the——such a very formidable paper then?" he says. "Oh! yes, a very formidable paper, indeed." The foreigner takes up the paper, reads it thrice through—and unless it happen to be one of those field days, on which I admit a remarkable article may appear—falsely attributes to his want of a perfect knowledge of English his inability to see the peculiar merits of a composition which has in reality no such merits at all.

Convinced, however, that the merits are there, he enquires: "Pray, who is the great writer in this journal?" "Writer—writer!" repeats his informant, "upon my word I do not know,—they say a Mr. ——um writes in it."

"Is Mr. ——um such a very great writer, then?" adds my curious stranger; "it is very odd that I never heard of his name before. Is Mr. ——um then one of your first writers?"

"I rather think not—I believe not—I do not know that he is," says the Englishman, and the foreigner remains not much the wiser for the questions I have taken the liberty to put into his mouth; for it never for one moment occurred to him, that the writing of a paper has very little to do with its success;—if it had, Mr. Fonblanque would monopolise public attention.

Why is this in England? On account of the four-penny tax? not on account of this tax alone, perhaps; but on account of

this tax and the system of government, and the state of property which is connected with this tax. A paper has got a great capital—it has been established a long while. It would require a fortune to start a competitor against it. These are the circumstances which make a paper powerful, and as a paper can be powerful in spite of its writers, so the paper is respected when the writers are not.

In France, on the contrary, where the stamp duty is low and fortunes small, a paper depends wholly upon its writers. Good writers are absolutely necessary for good newspapers—the power of the newspaper, then, is the power of the writer; and therefore the writers for newspapers take the rank of the newspapers in which they write.

Besides, as newspapers must profess their opinions with ability or those opinions lose ground, all persons interested in particular opinions are interested in supporting particular newspapers. From this double action, as it were—from the rank and power which writing with ability in a paper gives, and the interest which all persons, whatever their political rank, have in supporting with their pen the journals which profess their political sentiments, journalism in France is perfectly different from journalism in England.

The effect of a high tax in a country where there are great fortunes, is to encourage rich men and to exclude poor men from entering upon newspaper speculation. Rich men once so occupied, they erect expensive machinery, and collect expensive information. The effect of a low tax in a country, where there are not great fortunes, is to engage men of talent and not to engage men of wealth in such undertakings—poor men of talent must rely upon talent. So that in one country success depends chiefly upon capital: in the other, success depends altogether upon ability—here consequently the paper is esteemed,* there the writer.

The power of the journals in England, then, is what the

* Let us remark this: capital is more necessary than talent for newpapers in England, here the tax operates—and French newspapers are written better than English ones;—talent is more necessary than capital for reviews in England—here no tax does operate—and the English reviews are far superior to the French ones.

power of the boroughmongers was—the power of money in a particular channel—but with this difference, that its agents are invisible and irresponsible to that public opinion which they evoke.*

The system of governing by wealth—the natural consequence of large accumulations of wealth—extends itself into the newspapers as it extended itself into the senate—and upon the same principle that a man of large fortune is even still considered, *ipso facto*, the proper person to make laws (never mind his intellect) for the greater number who are poorer and more intelligent than himself, so a newspaper of great capital is considered the proper organ of just opinions.

I believe it is a not-to-be-controverted fact that Blacks and Whites have invariably condemned the Almighty to be of their own peculiar colour.

The castes of mankind have followed this example, and the revolutionary populace of Paris, as the formidable council of Venice, equally declared that the only honest class of society was that which happened to be in power.

This country has long been governed by very rich men, and very rich men have very naturally laid it down as a principle, that great riches are an unequivocal sign that the persons possessing them will take care of the wealth of their neighbours. Now, so much of this is true, that a very rich man will not in general wish to do any thing injurious to the welfare of very rich men.

Whether a very rich man is, or whether many very rich men combined are, likely to govern for the interests of the far greater mass of very poor, or moderately rich men, has never yet been taken soberly into consideration.†

* It may so happen that the press, conducted ably in one country, will produce more mischief, than, worse conducted, it produces in another—because the people in this country may be more exciteable and less sensible than the people of that; but I do think it will be acknowledged, that where power is to be conferred, it is safer in the hands of the most talented and considerable men in the country, whose names are known and whose lives may be inquired into, than in the hands of a set of anonymous agents—the anonymous agents of a mysterious corporation.

† The richer a man is, the better guarantee people imagine they have for his good conduct: "He has got a great stake in the hedge, and you may depend upon it he will take care of the hedge," is the common expression:

That a man who has got great property will preserve property, seems an undeniable axiom, until we consider the various ways in which property may be taken away. For instance, the old nobility of France had great property, but it is not quite clear to me, when by the power which this property gave them, they refused to pay any share in the contributions of the state, that they did not rob their fellow-citizens, who were thus obliged to pay an ampler share than was just of the public burthens. The borough-possessing aristocracy of England had great property, but it is not quite clear to me, that they did not rob the people of England, when, by means of their great property, they got great parliamentary influence, and by means of their great parliamentary influence they got great sinecures, many of which we—the people of England—are still paying to this aristocracy and their relations.

Whenever great wealth can give great power, great wealth is just as likely to lead to abuses as if this great power came from any other source. The rich man, in short, is just as likely to rob the poor man, if he has the capability of doing so, as the poor man is to rob the rich one—always supposing in either case that principle is not there as a preventive.

But this has not been the common opinion; and the taxes on newspapers, which necessitate a large fortune for carrying on a newspaper with success, form part of a plan which places power under the security of wealth.

The theory may be plausible—but what are its effects?

1. By giving journalism the basis rather of money than of mind, you make the writers of papers less known, because less respected, and less responsible, because less known.

2. By restricting competition to the very rich, you make papers themselves more powerful than they ought to be, and encourage them to be less honest.

3. By creating a price for papers which but few, speaking comparatively, can afford, you make them disregardless of the interests and feelings of the great masses by whom they cannot be bought.

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which ought rather perhaps to be—"you may depend upon it he will take care of the great stakes in the hedge," for it is not quite so certain that he will not try to get hold of the little ones.

The first proposition I have shown,

The second is self-evident;

The third I come to the consideration of—impressed, I confess, with a deep sense of its importance.

And, let us allow that there is something a little ludicrous in the air of comfort with which the legislator hugs himself in his present contrivance! Suppose the imposition on stamped papers makes them excellent—what follows? that it would be a most desirable thing for the poor and discontented to read such papers. When the Queen of France heard that her people were starving, she exclaimed, "Good God! why don't they buy some of those dear little buns?" But the poor French people could not buy the Queen's dear little buns, and the poor English people cannot buy the government's dear little newspapers—this is the joke! Their excellent journals are excellent for the very reason which prevents their doing good,

Our working classes are taught to read, to be sure; every pains is taken for so desirable an end; they are made electors too, you know, and thus taught to feel an interest in politics; nothing can be so wise and proper.

But having taught the working classes to read and to feel an interest in political matters, what do we do next? why, we very wisely and consistently prevent their being able to purchase legal political publications.

We say to the mechanic: you are quite rich enough, my worthy friend, to have a vote for a representative,—only you are not rich enough to learn how your representative votes.

But if we leave a large class without an organ for their opinions, depend upon this!—some one will furnish that organ in spite of all our penalties to prevent it.

Is not this the case at the present moment? Have we not two machines working on public opinion? (for a journal, though it represents opinion, does not *only* represent it—it also forms it.) Have we not the opinions of the wealthiest propagated and formed by one machine which we sanction—the opinions of the poorest, by another machine which we prohibit? We have thus contrived a method to prevent extremes which propagate extremes, and instead of appealing to the intelligence of all classes, which eventually keeps the different

orders of society united, we are exciting the separate passions of two classes, which will ultimately bring them into conflict.

What! the English press more violent than the French press?—my lord shakes his head. It is true that the French press in general—addressed to a nation which a long series of events has rendered inclined towards democracy, will be, according to the ideas of a rich aristocracy—more violent than *that part* of the English press which is addressed to themselves. But let that aristocracy read another part of the English press—a part of the English press which is so remote from all their views, habits, and ideas, that it would never enter into their heads to suppose that it could exist, but for the kindness of some attorney-general, who, by an untimely prosecution now and then, instructs them of the circumstance.

For instance:

TO THE INSURGENT AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

"You are much admired for every thing you are known to have done during the last month; for as yet, there is no evidence before the public that you are incendiaries or even political rebels. Much as every thoughtful man must lament the waste of property, much as the country must suffer by the burnings of farm produce now going on, were you proved to be the incendiaries, we should defend you by saying, that you have more just and moral cause for it, than any king or faction, that ever made war, had for making war.

* * * *

A Constitutional Monarchy is hypocrisy sanctioned by law; its terms and limits can never be legally defined; it is a constant contest for power among factions; it is, on the part of the people, a state of conquest, or ignorant slavery; if hereditary, it is liable to bad passion, to imbecility or to idiocy; it is a compound of contradiction; it engenders, as it has *now* engendered in England, all sorts of abuses; it becomes the government of an aristocracy; and it is, in fine and in fact, the worst and most degrading form of government that has ever been devised for a people.

* * * *

"On the Sunday mornings and evenings, and on the Friday evenings, the service is very properly called *divine*, and is certainly the best theological service that has yet been presented to a congregation. The character of the Deity is *vindicated* on the Sunday morning, by Mr. *Carlile*, against the monstrosities set up in that name by the priests and fanatics!!!—*The Prompter.*

"Man rung by want, goaded by insult, duped, maddened, starved, is no longer man—he is a monster! Let them beware of the unearthly thing they

have formed! He will ravage! rage! burn! he will (as in Ireland) *adorn* himself with blood!"—*Poor Man's Guardian.*

I could then turn to a tirade in which the title, that monarchical England cheerfully pronounces, is impudently laid aside, and the sovereign abused under the somewhat plain title of "Mr. Guelph," for neglecting the interests of the people, whose liberties he was at that very moment prudently, but at the same time magnanimously, extending.

Even the illustrious Princess to whom England owes so much for a retirement beneath which the royal hope of these countries has been discreetly reared—notwithstanding her prudent privacy, and conduct that defies reproach—is attacked with vulgar and voluntary virulence; nor is there any principle, person, or authority so sacred in the eyes of these printed preachers to the people as to claim their forbearance or respect. Is there danger in this? Remember—these violent absurdities are addressed to a class possessing excellent intentions, and generous sympathies, but ignorant, naturally jealous of the great, and totally without any other organ of opinion. Nay more, the journal I have been quoting from—silly as we see it, and contemptible as we may wish it to be—is written not without a certain eloquence and ability, and sold, when I last enquired, about 400 copies a week in Coventry alone; while at the very moment at which I am writing, 70,000 copies are sold per week of similar unauthorized publications.

They are sold in opposition to the law—they are, of course, written against the law—they are sold in spite of the wealthy classes—they are of course, written against the wealthy classes.*

How can you hope for peace and harmony in the community when you cut in two the stream of opinion—when you exclude the peasant from that branch which you direct to the proprie-

* I will take this opportunity of observing, that we have a pledge from the existing government that the cause of this nuisance shall be withdrawn at the earliest moment compatible with the necessities of the revenue. This is the first pledge of the kind we have received, and I never for my own part deemed it a wise or worthy policy to disgust those who profess friendly intentions, by manifesting a hitherto unmerited suspicion.

tor, and hide from the proprietor that branch which is flowing on to the peasant? *

Rest assured, that if there be any thing to prevent a violent convulsion among our neighbours, it is that low price of papers which allows every doctrine to enter into every home. If there be any thing likely to bring about a convulsion among ourselves, it is that severance between the seven-penny papers which go to the peer's breakfast table, and the two-penny papers which go to the mechanic's cottage.

There is another advantage in the French system: by making intelligence the governing principle of the press, you bring into action a power which, from its very nature, is always preparing futurity:—by making wealth the governing principle, you put into action a power which is never addressed but to the moment.

Any child told to look at the state of England, at the present moment, and to put his finger on the dark spot which bodes the storm, would point to that, which as yet but dimly visible, indicates a struggle between the few who have much, and the mass who have nothing.

I do not ask—whether it be better for a nation, that its property should be so disposed—but I say merely, if it be better that such should be the distribution of property, it is most necessary that all classes,—that the class which is poor as well as the class which is wealthy—should be informed of it. If such a state of things is to continue, it can only continue by its advantages being generally proved; if such a state of things is to be altered, it can only be safely altered by keeping each class in constant communication with the views and feelings of the other.

This is the difference between the past and the present: in the past you kept the people ignorant, and the people weak. In the first place, they did not busy themselves about their

* If you have a very high tax, that high tax is avoided—and the press consists of two extremes. If you have a moderate tax, by diminishing the advantage of disobeying the law and thereby providing for its obedience—you have a press addressing itself to a middle class, and therefore taking a moderate tone—uniting the two classes most opposed, and not separating them.

condition; in the next it signified little to you if they did. But you have now given them intelligence and power: you must therefore either satisfy them with their condition, or you must, by frequent interchange of opinion, arrive gradually at a safe method of changing it.

Let your newspapers address the great mass of the nation, they will, in a certain degree, adopt—they will, in a certain degree, form—the opinion of the great mass of the nation. The government will as a matter of course accommodate itself to the guide which will then be there to steer its course. Where there is *a tendency to one great opinion, there will be no great convulsion*—but keep opinions separate; let the rich think one way and the poor another, and I defy you to prevent a war between the poor and the rich.

If I say that the daily press in France embodies more of the intelligence of France, than the daily press of England does of the intelligence of England—if I say, that the differences of opinion among the papers which find circulation in this country are more marked and more dangerous than those which are exhibited by the journals in circulation at the other side of the channel, I am very far from intending to assert or to prove that French journalism is a model of wisdom or moderation.

You cannot have the French press what the French nation is not. As the one is quick, passionate, light in its judgment, and fickle in its ideas, so the other will neither be wise nor wary in its expressions. But observe! As a natural consequence of the French press, as a whole, addressing itself to the great mass of the French nation, any fraction of it, advocating a favourite class, or a particular opinion, is the least influential when it is the most violent; while the press itself, considered altogether as a political engine, must ever be the *most powerful* when it is *the most moderate*.

The first is a fact, and requires no argument in its favour. The most moderate liberal paper is the *Constitutionnel*.

The subscribers to the *Constitutionnel* in the departments are 8,300—in Paris, 3,500—nearly double the number of any other liberal newspaper. The *Temps*, for instance, has for subscribers in the departments 4,000—in Paris, 1,200.

The *Gazette de France* is the most moderate of the Royalist

I am quite convinced that there is not one of these prosecutions which has not had the effect I have described; viz. that of making the press more powerful against the government which instituted them, by uniting the press against that government.

In fact, a government in the situation of the French government, when it prosecutes the press because it is violent, ends by being itself the representative of that violence which it began by putting down.

The parties attacked become more moderate from a necessity of union; the party attacking more desperate from a sense of danger.

The prosecutions of the restoration coalesced, as I have had occasion to say, the Bonapartists and the patriots; and it was this coalition which overthrew the Bourbons: the prosecutions of the *juste-milieu* are tending to unite the carlists and the republicans, and that is the best chance of overthrowing Louis-Philippe.*

As I write this sentence, the new law rings in my ears; but it will not be, till the conclusion of this work, that I shall speak of an act, which should be considered less in respect to the Press than to the general policy of France.

RELIGION.

CHAPTER IV.

Force of an Opinion propped up by a habit—Le Roi très-chrétien—State of religion in France—Châteaubriand's Génie du Christianisme.

There are few things more difficult to ascertain than the real force of an opinion, which has long been propped up by a habit.

The shadow remains so long upon the surface of things

* See Appendix for different facts connected with the French press; the duties, laws, &c.

after the reality has passed away—the sensation of an effect continues so long after the cause has ceased—that we are for ever in the habit of deceiving ourselves, and imagining that, that lives from faith and belief which in fact only continues from indifference and from custom. Here is the error which unhappily prevails in all revolutions, and induces a minority to resist where there is nothing to be gained but by concession!

Here is the error which statesmen have been too frequently guilty of, and travellers and superficial observers almost invariably fallen into!

Here is the error which produces so many of those contradictions which encounter us in every page of history, and raise up, side by side, things which appear utterly incompatible with each other.

Let us suppose that we were two thousand years removed from the time of Louis XV., and that some book of voyages—the book of an Herodotus of the 18th century who had visited the court of France—fell into our hands.

"This monarch," (Louis XV.) he would say, "is called *le Roi très-chrétien;* and the religion of Christ condemns as deadly—the crimes of fornication and adultery.

"The very Christian King, nevertheless, lives openly with a prostitute, and employs the money he receives from his very christian subjects in maintaining an immense seduction house, which he fills with the most beautiful he can procure of their very christian daughters."—What would you say on reading this page? "Bah! This King might call himself 'very Christian' and his people might call themselves 'very Christian,' too, if they pleased it, but after all, the piety of both parties must have consisted in the mere puppet-show of their appellation." Stop a little! we will turn, if you please, to our traveller's next page! What shall we say, when we find there—that the King we have just seen described—living in the greatest pomp and exercising an uncontrolled sway over his people—descended from his throne once every year, and in observance of one of the great duties of christianity, washed with his own hands the feet of a certain number of dirty beggars who were brought to him from the streets for this pious purpose?

Where is the sovereign accustomed to pomp, to luxury, and

to power, who would descend from his throne in so humiliating a manner—to perform so disgusting an office—unless it were loudly demanded from him either by his own conscience, or by that of the nation he governed? "The very Christian King," you would affirm "must have been very christian after all."

But the question would not rest here: crowds of learned commentators would arise to show that things could not be as they were printed, that there must be error in one passage or the other.

Some would say, "the whole text is a forgery," others would prove irrefragably that part of it had been illegitimately inserted; and woe unto the low and humble critic who should venture to whisper that things inconsistent are compatible; that the *Parc aux Cerfs* might be—a picture of existing manners; and the pious ablution of the beggars—the shadow of manners that were gone by.

I remember when M. de Ségur returned from his embassy to St. Petersburgh, he was startled at the sudden tone of familiarity and equality that the French people had assumed. "Not many months before," said he, "no people in the world were more obsequious and cringing to their superiors."—Yes; there had been a sudden change in forms, because there had been a gradual but silent change in ideas.

It is important to have such examples as these before us, without which we are perpetually confusing effects and causes; and charging one poor moment of time with the events of which long years before ought justly to bear the burthen.

At the time of the revolution of 1789, I doubt much if there were not less real religion in France, than there is even at the present moment; there was far more of that kind of religion throughout the country, however, which with statists passes for religion itself:—of that kind of religion which is altogether independent of thought and scrutiny, and rests simply on ignorance, blind credulity, and a conformity to traditionary custom.

At the time of the revolution, the higher classes were sceptical, the middle classes indifferent, the lower classes superstitious.

The worst evil of violent prepossessions, unconnected with

reflection, is the violent reaction that ensues when doubt insinuates itself into the place of blind belief.

I say—"doubt,"—but ignorant people rarely doubt; foolishly believing one moment, they as foolishly persecute for belief the next. This is why the mass are still for ever in extremes, as in darker times all men were.

Let no one then support ignorance on the ground that it is favourable to religious belief! It is favourable to religious belief—but alas! it is favourable also to irreligious reaction. It is favourable to fanaticism of all kinds;—the fanaticism of faith—the fanaticism of infidelity. The mob of September butchering the priests, is the proper *pendant* to the mob of St. Bartholomew, butchered by the priests' orders.

As long as the lower classes are worse instructed than those above them, so long, let us remember, every feeling, whether it be political or religious, as it descends in society, will become more violent and more extreme. Thus the religious indifference of one class (disciples of Diderot, Voltaire, and Helvetius) became irreligious persecution when it reached the crowd before which Marat appeared as an apostle.*

But it was not from this band of brutal reformers that the humbled ministers of Christ had anything to fear for their beautiful creed.

The people who had yielded to the light and graceful assaults of ridicule and wit, revolted, and with justice, from the uncouth and savage attacks of the assassins who, with an admirable honesty of intention, substituted the guillotine in the place of the fagot; and with mercy in their hearts and charity on their lips, committed acts more atrocious than any they professed to extirpate.

Under the sentences of a savage infidelity, religion, like those hardy plants that are nourished by the storm, recovered a passing appearance of returning health. The priest, poor, persecuted, concealed, proscribed, no longer the executioner but the victim—no longer the proud tenant of a palace, but

* How would the philosopher of Ferney have been disgusted at seeing all the ancient cruelties of religion perpetrated under the hapless name of philosophy; philosophy, however, is no more to blame for the abominations of Robespierre, than religion for the crime of Ravillac.

the miserable occupant of a prison—the priest, in this crisis of his misfortunes, rose from the grovelling position into which he had been plunged by his prosperity:—amidst the terrors of the republic, and the license of the Directory, there spread among the French, a sense that the rites of their forefathers might have been wronged—that the vices of the clergy were not necessarily impurities of the church—while all men, even those who deem slight differences in creed of small religious importance; who coolly regard a matter of faith as they would a matter of finance, saw with pleasure the return to what they considered the decencies of a superstitious ignorance, as far preferable to the wild disorders of a vicious and unnatural struggle after thought.

It was amidst these mingled feelings, favourable to the attempt, that a variety of circumstances concurred in re-establishing and vindicating the ancient religion.

But that religion appeared in its resurrection still covered with the flowers under which it had been laid in the tomb. It uplifted itself, breathing the perfumes and borrowing the charms of the elegant philosophy which had destroyed it. Far different from the rude and stern apostle of the desert —the modern champion of the faith uprose brandishing the graceful arms, and proud in the painted panoply of his opponents; no longer demanding belief, as the spontaneous result of faith, the christian solicited it as the well meditated result of reason.

"Il ne faut plus prouver," said he, "que le christianisme est excellent parce qu'il vient de Dieu, mais qu'il vient de Dieu parce qu'il est excellent."

Nor was this all: I could not desire a stronger proof of the power of literature in France, than that which is to be found in the *Génie du Christianisme.*

What is that eloquent work?—a pleading before the Academy in favour of the gospel; a series of arguments intended to prove—that christianity is *in very excellent taste.**

This may be true, or not true; but to a person seriously occupied with his eternal salvation, it would seem rather ridicu-

* See Appendix.

lous to tell him that he was sure to be saved by his doctrine because it was favourable to the arts. The French, I mean that part of the French to whom M. de Châteaubriand addressed himself, were not seriously occupied with their eternal salvation; they were sick of the cant and the cruelties of infidelity; they had witnessed, amidst severe trials, the comfort of religious consolation; and without feeling absolutely convinced of the truth of the divine law, they wished for an excuse to believe it.

Such was the moment at which the young poet, returning from his travels, introduced piety into Paris under the mask of a Muse. He wore his opinions with the grace with which Madame Récamier folded her handkerchief:* and the christianity of the one and the *coiffure* of the other soon became equally *à la mode*.

CHAPTER V.

Disappearance of the Impiety of the Republic—Religion re-established by Bonaparte—Doctrine of the Royalists at the Restoration—Ambition of the "*parti prêtre*"—The Jesuits.

And now all the impiety of the republic, all that bigoted and furious hatred of the church and its priests had disappeared.

"Je dois dire," says M. de Montlozier, "que je ne trouvai alors nulle part l'esprit irréligieux systématique que j'avais vu avant 1789; je trouvai encore moins l'esprit irréligieux, haineux, incendiaire, qui s'était produit depuis, et qui avait particulièrement dominé l'âge de la révolution. Un petit nombre de prêtres sauvés, comme à la nage, des dernières tempêtes, d'autres récemment revenus des contrées étrangères, tout cela obtenait, non seulement l'estime mais le respect; il n'y avait pas jusqu'à l'impiété elle-même qui, honteuse de ses excès

* Madame Récamier invented, about this time, a head dress that went by her name.

passés, ne supportât franchement les prêtres ou même ne les accueillît."*

But if the catholic church arose—"the catholic priest had no civil existence—no worldly importance."

Bonaparte, in re-establishing religion, gave no power to the ministers of religion. Here was the great difference between the empire and the restoration.

The one said, a holy creed is not to be prescribed by the drunken folly of demagogues; the other said a great nation ought not to be governed by the monkish policy of priests. Napoleon was for maintaining a great moral and political institution useful to government in general. The Bourbons were for maintaining a set of tried partisans, and faithful adherents, as useful to the government in particular: this was the doctrine of the royalists in 1814 and 1815; and lo! the church which, as bodies perish from excess of blood, fell, under the old régime, a victim to its wealth and its possessions—which, invigorated by the persecutions of the republic, maintained itself with dignity during the decent protection of the empire—was again prostrated by the favoritism of the restoration.

In order to understand the violent change in opinion which a few years so suddenly produced—in order to understand why the church which had been gradually growing into vogue during the empire, became so thoroughly and bitterly detested during the restoration, it is necessary to have these facts before our minds.

During the empire, religion sought to raise itself by flattering the prevailing tastes of the French people; during the restoration, it sought the same distinction by destroying those tastes.

During the empire, religion was attached to the state, but its ministers were kept wholly attached to religion; during the restoration, religion and the ministers of religion were con-

* I ought to say that I nowhere found the systematic irreligious spirit which I had seen in 1789. Still less did I find that irreligious, hateful, and incendiary spirit which has since appeared and which ruled the age of the revolution. A small number of priests, saved from the last storms, others newly returned from foreign countries—these obtained not only esteem but respect. Even impiety itself, ashamed of its past excesses, supported frankly the priesthood and received it.

founded, and as the one was thought necessary to the people, so the other was consulted by the government.

To change the nature, to contradict the habits, to annihilate the recollections of the French people—such was the gentle ambition of the "*parti prêtre*"—who, in prohibiting the dance and the festival, frowning on the academy, excommunicating the theatre, interfering with the exchange,* deemed it possible to subvert the character, and thwart all the ideas of an epoch.

There was one feeling in common to the partizans of the divine right of kings, and the party who contended with quite as much reason that their rights were the only rights divine—viz. a deep dissatisfaction at the existing state of things. The *parti prêtre* then and the *parti* (*soi-disant*) *royaliste* united—the one taking the church as an instrument to restore the golden days of the crown;—the other making the crown a pretext to aid the designs of the church. The aim of this confederation was to maintain to the clergy an influence, which, as their doctrines became every day more notoriously unpopular, they every day more notoriously lost.

There were only two ways left to do this: for the time when it could have been done by the pulpit and the confessional was past: there were only two ways left to do this—to bring up a new generation in the thoughts which it was impossible to give the existing one; and to lend the priest an authority, as civil servant of the government, which he could not hope to possess as mere minister of religion.

Accordingly, to bring the clergy into the magistracy and the ministry, and to place the clergy at the head of education—such was the plan of those who wished to priest-ride the people—while to oppose this plan became clearly the object of the people, if they did not wish either themselves or their children to be priest-ridden. But directly the government meant to employ the church in worldly matters, and that the church itself meant to engage in the affairs of the world, that body of the catholic priesthood, which since the time of its institution has been most adroit in uniting clerical interests with political ability, rose at once into notice and power.

* The clergy even forbade the receiving of interest for money lent.

I can join in none of the ungenerous abuse with which the Jesuits have been frequently overwhelmed. The great and wise, and learned reformers, who, humanizing religion mixed with mankind, who, succeeding the templars, possessed it is true the avarice and ambition of that military order, but who, as bold and crafty, were neither so cruel nor intolerant as their predecessors;—not less adventurous than those daring knights —but founding the society of Paraguay, instead of desolating the East with the sword—the decried Jesuits were a body of men to whom humanity owes much; and whose cunning and duplicity are at least as pardonable as the ignorant and violent, and blood-thirsty spirit of their cotemporaries. Remark, however! this society, when it appeared, had to defend the church against the sword; the power of the mind against the power of brute force; and in order to govern the monarch, it was necessary to have the affection of the mass. But when the church, instead of contending against princes, had to look to princes for its support, the policy, the conduct, and the bearing of the order of Loyola changed, in accordance with the change that had taken place in the world around it.

The Jesuits then, under the restoration, were what they had never been before: no longer popular and pliant, they were proud and insolent; no longer bowing to the commons, they flattered the crown; and appearing in front of the party that was odious to the nation, concentrated upon themselves, as it were, the national hatred.* And now, just at the moment most likely to receive its impressions, appeared the famous book of Abbé de la Roche Arnaut.

This young man, illustrious as a renegade from his order, revealed and invented facts which raised into a yell of indignation the long smothered murmurs of public opinion. Such

* If an opinion was to be maintained, it was anti-Jesuitical; if a minister was to be described, he was a Jesuit! *à bas les Jésuites* resounded from one end of France to the other, and such is the danger of an odious ally, that because the monarchy was supported by the Jesuits, it was only necessary to support the monarchy in order to be cried down as a Jesuit. But this was not all: the Jesuits and that party which acted with the Jesuits, finding themselves thus hated and attacked, saw that there was no middle course to take—they had to conquer or be conquered; there was no alternative, then, between the ordonnances of Louis XV., and the ordonnances of Charles X.

Now this was said loud in a saloon where there were many persons, who, I happened to know, were rigid and strict catholics, and yet no one seemed in the slightest degree annoyed at this public and unnecessary avowal of deism on the part of the person who had been speaking so indecently.

In England we know that a person using such language would not only have excited the disgust, the just and decent disgust with which such an avowal of infidelity in a country—professing itself christian, ought to be received; far beyond any disgust of this kind, the feeling excited would have been a sort of blood-curdling horror of superstitious abomination, which would have exaggerated into a ghost or vampire, a living mass of murder and impiety, the person who professed himself thus openly a pupil of Plato. It would therefore be very natural for an Englishman to suppose that the persons who listened quietly to Mr. ——'s declaration, were in fact of his opinions.

But Mr. Stuart mentions several cases of a similar kind in the United States of America, where there is certainly as much christianity, and even as much christian fanaticism as in Great Britain; yet, where no person thinks he has any right to abuse, and condemn a fellow citizen for having different convictions from his own, however atrocious he deem those convictions.

This proceeds in both countries—in France and in America—from the general feeling of equality, which is established among all men; an equality which is so much a habit of life, as to become a habit of thought, and which has to a certain degree extended itself from rights to ideas.

But notwithstanding any isolated facts to the contrary, many of which must necessarily fall within the reach of a partial enquirer, I think the state of christianity in France may be thus fairly described, as it exists at the present moment.

CHRISTIANS.	INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.
1. The south and west of France, almost without exception.	1. The great majority of the metropolitan population.
2. The higher classes, (to use an expression familiar to the English reader,) i. e. the nobility, gentry, and the more rich *bourgeoisie*.	2. The men of science and letters; the army.
3. The rural population in general.	3. The small *bourgeoisie* of the towns.

From this it would follow—

On the one hand:—

That the districts most distinct from France, in general, are:—CHRISTIAN.

That the classes most wealthy in France, are:—CHRISTIAN.

That that part of the population numerically the most important in France, is:—CHRISTIAN.

On the other hand:—That the spots in France most mixed up in French affairs, are:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

That the classes most influential in French society, are:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

That that part of the population politically (elective and municipally), the most important, is:—INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

The national religion in France is considered to be the religion of the different influential sects in the nation; and the state pays a salary to the minister of the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish worship.

I give the first at three different epochs.

SALARY, CATHOLIC CLERGY.

	1827.	1834.	1836.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
A Cardinal.	30,000	»	»
The Archbishop of Paris.	100,000	40,000	25,000
Another Archbishop.	25,000	15,000	
A Bishop.	15,000	10,000	
The Vicar General of Paris.	4,000	4,000	
Another Vicar General.	3,000	3,000	
A canon in Paris.	2,400	2,400	
A canon in other dioceses.	1,500	1,500	
A cure (priest) of the first class.	1,500	1,500	
———of the second.	1,100	1,100	
A Desservant (answers to our Curates in some degree.)	from 900 to 750	from 1,000 to 800	

The changes have been in diminishing the salaries of the higher and raising the salaries of the lower clergy. The *casuel* or fees from his parishioners, double the Catholic priest's allowance.

The protestant clergyment receives no *casuel;* his allowance

from the state varies from 3,000 to 1,000 francs, and may average about 60*l.*

The grand Rabbin at Paris receives 6,000 francs—the other grand Rabbin 3,000—the other Rabbins vary from 2,000 to 300 francs.

The Catholic religion has no longer any estates separate from its allowance. During the restoration, it was allowed to receive donations within a certain limit.

From 1820 to 1825—this was during the heat and fervour of the religious struggle I have described—the donations to the church doubled what they had been from 1815 to 1820—but let not political hypocrisy pass for religious zeal!

There were five times as many ANONYMOUS *donations to other charitable institutions.*

In an exposition of the rights, honours, pre-eminences and privileges of the ancient clergy of France, the author, a priest, and anxious to revive the ancient order of things, makes a comparison which, I believe, is a just one.

"The revenue of the ancient clergy of France," he says, "amounted before the revolution to about 135 millions of francs (about five millions and a half sterling). The budget of this year (he was writing in 1824) is 30 millions, 50 thousand francs. The difference between the two epochs being 105 MILLIONS.

"Then," he continues, "before the revolution, the clergy of France consisted of 412,419 individuals, comprising the two sexes; now, alas! it hardly contains 40,000 priests and 36,000 pupils, in the different seminaries educating for the priesthood. This number of 40,000 is insufficient—it ought to be raised to 50,000," (if 50,000 are sufficient, how ridiculous the number of 412,419!) "while instead of 82,580 women devoted to the church, we have now *but* 19,000."

It would be unjust to dispute the facts of this holy writer; facts, indeed, which he subsequently establishes, clearly proving that the church was far more numerous and more wealthy as a body than it is:—but he never proves, nor deems it worth while to prove, that the church's piety was in any degree promoted by its numbers or possessions.

Compare, I say, the clergy of those times—when Dubois was cardinal, and St. Simon gives as a reason for admitting the

Bishop of Troyes into the council of the regency, that he had lain with all the ladies of the court; compare the clergy of those times—when the spruce little abbé in his violet coat and brass buttons went modestly to a *loge grillée* in the theatre, just to see the folks damning themselves, whom the church refused to bury; compare the clergy of those times—receiving their 135 millions of francs with the clergy who receive 30 millions at the present day—make this comparison, and say what you think religion has lost or gained by the wealth of her ministers!

When a man tells me that he wishes the church to be wealthy because he has a son who has taken orders—when a man tells me that he wishes bishops to have 30,000 *l.* a year because he has a brother, the college friend of the prime minister, who will certainly be a bishop—when a man tells me that he wishes clergymen to be *gentlemen* because he has a dandy nephew who is just the thing for a parson—I shake him heartily by the hand, and rejoice, for my part, that the state provides for so honest and frank-hearted a fellow. But, really, when your solemn-faced puppy pharasaically remarks, that though many of his family are in the church, he, God knows! wishes to see the church wealthy for far other and higher considerations; that he wishes to see a church mingling with the aristocracy and endowed with large possessions, merely because he believes that an aristocratic and wealthy clergy best promote the interests of religion—when some sinful toady of the peerage demurely says this—such impudence, I confess, puts me out of countenance, and I have hardly sufficient presence of mind to reply: —"Look to the catholic clergy of Ireland! look to the dissenters of England! look to the pious, and excellent, and exemplary body of men forming the clergy of France,—who constitute without dispute, the most respectable part of French society, and who, if they want in some respects the intelligence of the times in which they live, have all the simplicity, and more than the virtue, of a darker age!"

"The priests here appear to be a very good and amiable sort of men. I always pull off my hat to any of them that I meet, and they always return the salutation with great politeness and humility.

"They dress not only while at church, but at all times, in a long sort of coat gown, called a *soutane*, made of black cloth,

and wear the old-fashioned cocked hat. You cannot mistake the priest in France for any other than he is. His devout manner, and the simple and sacred habiliment that he always appears in, make you acquainted with his profession at once. This is not the case with the divines of our country. In the famishing curate we do, to be sure, very often see an example of piety and mildness—but the religious character of the *beneficed clergyman* is not all times to be recognized in his manners and personal appearance: he, though quite as sincere, no doubt, as these meeker priests in France, is very often admired as the most venturesome rider in the fervour of the fox-chase, as being a good shot, or the best hand at a rubber of whist, etc."

I quote from a little pamphlet which contains some interesting details.* But to make a comparison such as that which its writer has made, is not my intention; because it is never just to judge one part of a society without considering it in all its relations with other parts of that society; what would be intolerable in the members of a profession in one country, might be perfectly harmless and unexceptionable in the members of that same profession in another country.

I leave, therefore, my reader to his own conclusions—but I cannot leave him to those conclusions without saying, that the picture drawn by Mr. Cobbett of the rural clergy in France is, according to my experience, and I have mixed with many of them, correct.

The greater part of these holy men are peasants by birth, and frequently born in the village where they afterwards exercise their functions. Their habits then are simple, and they mix naturally with their followers, of whom they understand the wants, the habits, and the language. They exercise a power—not so extensive as that of the Irish priests over their flocks—but a power mild and conciliatory—and are usually beloved and respected by the villagers, at whose christenings they preside, whose marriages they arrange, and whose quarrels they compose.

To the presbytery the poor may go with the satisfaction that they will find a friend—a friend not entirely removed from

* Mr. Cobbett, Jun.

their condition, and who can have no rivalry in their affairs ; a friend willing to listen to their complaints, to give them counsel they understand, and to preach, with a mixture of brotherly tenderness and spiritual authority, that divine doctrine of humility and resignation which finds, in spite of our vanity and ambition, a deep and holy echo in the human heart.*

The following are the ecclesiastical statistics of the numbers of the Catholic clergy composing the twenty-four dioceses of the kingdom, drawn from authentic documents, year 1833.

Titular.	675
Honorary.	446
Curates.	3,241
Assistants.	24,517
Vicars.	6,989
Chaplains.	449
Almoners.	989
Priests (supernumerary) authorised to preach and confess.	439
	37,745
Priests on duty, died 1833.	1,114
Total, priests in active service.	38,859
Number deficient for the service of dioceses.	11,732
Number of priests judged necessary by the bishops	50,591
Priests employed whose age exceeds sixty years.	9,755
Priests, aged or infirm, not capable of duty.	1,870
	11,625

ORDINATION DURING THE YEAR 1833.

Priests.	2,059
Deacons.	1,721
Under-Deacons.	1,681
	5,461

* It is to be regretted, perhaps, that with the virtues which the country clergy of France possess, there are not united others, viz. a greater elevation of views, more extended knowledge, and principles applying better to the affairs and conditions of the world. But with all their faults and deficiencies, these men form, as I have said, a class in which are found some of the most useful and honourable citizens of France. The clergy of the towns are better informed, in general, than those of the country. They are paid better, and are chosen from a class, a grade or two higher in society; but they possess neither the same virtues, nor do they obtain the same respect.

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOLARS.

Theology.	7,417
Philosophy.	2,162
In the secondary ecclesiastical schools. . . .	13,826
	23,405

By this statement it would appear, as well from the number of priests required for the service, as from the decrease (in 1824 the number was 36,000) of the students educating for the priesthood, that there is a certain difficulty at the present time in maintaining the ranks of that very respectable body, to whose virtues I should be ashamed not to render justice. But let us not at once suppose that this is owing to the smallness of the salary which the clergy receive—a salary wholly sufficient for their simple wants, and, as they are taken, for the most part, from parents poorer than themselves, more than they are accustomed to, or, had they remained among the laity, would have received.

It has become more difficult to fill up the ranks of the priesthood, not because the pecuniary rewards of the church are insufficient, if pecuniary rewards could alone suffice, but because pecuniary rewards cannot alone suffice when they have to counterpoise all the tastes, and affections, and habits of the human heart.

You tell me that the church was crowded when it had rich benefices and bishoprics at its disposition,—ay,—but had it only rich benefices and bishoprics? Had it not also pomp, power, place, all that corrupts and gratifies our nature? Were not its favours courted, and its vices forgiven? What difficulty was there in renouncing the world, when you thereby gained what was most valued in the world? Do you think that the most holy of the martyrs themselves were insensible to the glory that awaited them in front of the lion?

To be a French priest at present—what do you receive, and what do you renounce? You receive a moderate, but honourable subsistence, perfectly sufficient for all the wants which are necessary to, or indeed compatible with, your calling. But you renounce the honours of a literary or military career; you must turn aside from all that animates and vivifies your na-

tion. You must for ever abandon the passion of the peasant, whose toil you have escaped, but from whose desire—desire becoming every day more ardent, you cannot, from every early recollection and daily habit, be entirely free. You must abandon the hope of having a little spot of ground, which shall become a field, perchance a farm, under your care and economy;—a field or a farm which would be your own.

Nor is this all;—out from the innermost depths of your heart you must pluck the soft and gentle passion, which has not only been given you by nature, but which the society in which you live brings in every varied reflection before your eyes.

To be priest, you must neither be dramatist, nor warrior, nor proprietor, nor lover, nor husband, nor father;—you must renounce all these titles, so precious in a nation at once affectionate and vain;—and this without any of those gratifications which have mingled with the religion and the religious enthusiasm of the best and wisest of men. No one shall call you saint, or worship you as prophet; no one shall mingle with your person any of that mysterious divinity which of old mantled the ministers of God.

You shall be loved and respected, but you shall be loved and respected as a man—you shall be loved and respected, but you shall be loved and respected as a member of society—and you have foresworn the pleasures of a man, you have placed beyond the tomb the pleasures of society; *you have made the sacrifice of religious enthusiasm amidst the empire of religious indifference.*

Let me proclaim boldly, that a poor priesthood has always been, and always must be, a zealous and devoted one. But let us not confound events; let us not imagine that it is the same cause which always produces the same effect, or that poverty and purity, which are frequently the sign of a religion on its rise, may not sometimes denote its decline.

The ministry of a rising religion, not merely animated by the vulgar motive of procuring a revenue by their virtue—on which virtue, nevertheless, their revenue solely depends—not merely stimulated by this vulgar motive, however, the members of a rising religion have their souls filled and satisfied by

a nobler and more exquisite gratification—a gratification the highest of which humanity is capable, proceeding from the adoration, the worship of their disciples. Here is an impulse given to their energy, here is a reward held before their eyes, —an impulse which no government can give—a reward which no benefice can supply.

But reverse the medal—behold, not a religion rising, but a religion falling!—its revenues have been diminished ; we may disguise the cause, but the cause will really have been some diminution of our religious zeal. Then what follows ?—The same sentiment which has diminished the emoluments of the church, scrutinizes and watches over its conduct ; for the very reason that the clergy are worse paid, they are obliged to be more active, more pure. They are placed in the middle of a crowd, who no longer superstitiously embrace their feet, but who look them intelligently in the face.

The clergy of that fallen religion will thus become more pure as they are worse paid, and as they are worse paid, they will diminish ; but they will diminish not because they are worse paid, but because the same cause which diminishes their pay exacts from them all the purity of their creed, but accords to them none of the honours of its apostles.

I depart then from the vulgar cry, that it is only necessary for a priesthood to be poor and pure, for its doctrines to succeed. But if a church *may* be pure and righteous after its fashion, and yet decay and perish, I defy you to show me in all history, past and present, the example of a church, which has not been corrupted by its wealth, which has not fallen or which is not falling, crushed by the weight of its possessions:— and the catholic church of France—that church which, reformed as it is, cannot support itself, may date its destiny in times remote from these, when rising from its riches, amidst all the pomps and vanities of the world, was first seen the cloud that now glooms over its altars.

I have stated the revenue, the numbers, the qualities of the catholic priesthood. I now come to their divisions and distinctions.

The catholic clergy of France may be said to be divided into

three classes: for the late revolution, to which all have submitted, can hardly be said to have produced another.

1. The *clergé assermenté*, i. e. the clergy still remaining who took the oath of the constitution of 1789; who are necessarily few at the present time.

2. The Gallican clergy, the body the most numerous.

3. The *clergé ultra-montain*, the sect now most popular and fashionable.*

Among the most celebrated of the ultra-montainists, distinguished for his eloquence, his zeal, and his "Essay on Indifference," is the Abbé de la Mennais.

"I was sitting one day," said a friend of mine to me, in the bureau of the *Avenir* (a religious journal), "waiting for one of the editors of that paper, when a little man came in and sat himself shiveringly down before the small fire, from which I was endeavouring, in no very happy mood, to extract some kind of consolation. Small, plain, and ill-dressed, with large green spectacles, and an immense nose, timid, awkward, there was nothing at first sight very interesting either in the manner or the appearance of my acquaintance. I spoke however; he spoke; and in speaking his air became more firm and decided —his features assumed a new cast—his eye lit up—thought, suffering, compressed passion were visible in his countenance—and his whole person swelled out, as it were, into more spiritual and imposing proportions. 'Monsieur l'abbé!' said my friend, entering just at the moment that my eye was fixed on a print opposite. The print was that of the Abbé de la Mennais,—the person I had been talking to was the Abbé de la Mennais himself."

At St. Malo, in Brittany, in 1782, of a family in the middle classes in life (merchants fitting out ships), was born Félicité Robert de la Mennais. His early years were spent in the house of an uncle, who lived a retired country life, in the midst of a large library, to which the young student had frequent recourse. Every style of composition, poetry, prose, plays, history, religious tracts, were all, at this time, devoured with an equal literary avidity.

* See Appendix under head of Religion.

At the age of the passions, however, books were laid aside, and for some years the follies of an ardent temperament preceded the pieties of repentance.

At last, this eloquent man appeared—the priest of the restoration; supposed by some a proselyte from divine grace, by others a hypocrite from worldly ambition, but acknowledged by all to possess singular ability.

If I have paused thus long on the portrait of M. de la Mennais, it is not because this person was the former champion of the Pope, but because, within a few months from the period at which I am writing, he has endeavoured to give christianity new doctrines, to breathe into catholicism a new spirit, to fashion it, according to the ideas of his epoch, into a new form, to raise up a democratic religion full of energy, and life, and passion, in face of the spectral majesty of mitred Rome.

Never was work so popular as that pamphlet called "*les Paroles d'un Croyant*," *—never was work so popular in France,—and why? M. de la Mennais has wished to make the catholic religion in France what he has found society in France. He has wished to nourish it with that sap which has insinuated itself into every other feeling, opinion, and institution. He has wished to give that spirit of equality to his creed which he has found everywhere, but which springs whence?—from an equality of position connected, in a great degree, with an equality of possessions.

The religion which once taught obedience to the magnates of the earth, has endeavoured to accommodate itself to the laws which have banished from France these magnates, and we find a catholic minister flaunting a republican flag before the eyes of a church, the high priest of which is, at this moment, supported by the bayonets of kings.

Some christians may blame the attempt! Let all turn their faces from its execution!

"And I was transported in spirit into the ancient time; and the earth was beautiful, rich, and fertile; and its inhabitants lived happily, because they lived as brothers.

"And I saw the serpent glide in amongst them; he fixed on many his pow-

* It is impossible to give any idea of the literary art and eloquence of this production, but by a reference to it.

erful eye, and their soul was troubled, and they approached one another, and the serpent whispered into their ear.

"And the sun paled, and the earth took a funereal hue, as that of the winding-sheet which envelops the dead.

"There was heard a deep murmur, a longer plaint, and every one trembled in his heart.

"In truth, I do say unto you, it was as the day on which the abyss broke down its barriers, and the wide waters of the deluge burst forth.

"And fear went from cabin to cabin—for as yet there were no palaces,—and she said to each those secret things that make the blood run cold.

"And they who had said, 'we are kings,' took up a sword and followed her from cabin to cabin.

"And there there passed strange mysteries: there were chains, and weeping, and blood.

"And men were terrified, and cried 'Murder has appeared in the world,' and this was all:—for fear had palsied their soul, and taken the movement from their arm.

"And they allowed themselves to be charged with irons, they, and their wives, and their children. And the men who said, 'We are kings,' hollowed out, as it were, a vast cavern, and entombed all the human race therein, as animals are bound up in their stalls.

"And the winds drove the clouds before them, and I heard a voice, amidst the thunder, that said 'The serpent has vanquished again, but not for ever.'

"After that, I heard nothing but confused voices, and laughs, and sobs, and blasphemies.

"And I understood that Satan was to reign before God; and I wept, and I hoped.

"And the vision that I saw was true; for the reign of Satan is accomplished also; and those who said, 'we are kings,' shall, in their turn, be inclosed in the cavern with the serpent, and the human race shall come forth therefrom, and to that race it shall be as another birth, as a passage from death to life;—so be it!"

Far be it from me to applaud the wild reveries and the mystic imaginings of M. de la Mennais,—execrated here as an apostate, worshipped there as an apostle! Let it be for those who lick the feet of royal authority one day, to rant forth all the wildest ravings, to administer to all the most ignorant desires and darkest passions of democracy the next!

A VISION.

1. There was a vast plain—a plain such as that which modern seers have seen of late days in their dreams.

2. And around this plain were seven high thrones, and around the thrones stood the great and powerful of the earth.

3. And by them were placed vast urns, containing all those beautiful and lustful things which have been called "the vanities of the world."

4. And, ever and anon, the figures placed on these thrones, holding swords in their hands, and wearing crowns on their heads, took from the vases, and gave to such as stood by.

5. And many pressed towards the thrones to share in the gifts.

6. And in the middle of the plain might be heard a deep but stifled murmur coming from the crowd, which said, "there should be a change in all this."

7. And by one of the thrones you might have seen a little man with a bright eye, who carried his head upon his shoulder, as if it had been the sacrament, and who, in walking, lifted up his feet high in the air.

8. And he cried unto such of the crowd as were near him, "Why do ye murmur?"

9. And the crowd said, "We murmur because there are guards who keep us from yonder thrones, where our cries ought to be heard."

10. And the little man said, "Those guards are Cæsar's, and the Lord said, 'Let there be unto Cæsar his guards.'—Why do ye murmur?"

11. And the crowd said, "The monarchs on yonder thrones say they are our masters, and we wish to tell them how they may rule over us, and make us happy."

12. And the little man said, "Cover your face, and stifle your voice; for the Lord has said your happiness is not of this world, and you must obey blindly those whom God, even your God, hath set over you."

13. And lo! and behold the sky was suddenly darkened, and you heard the flap of the tempest's wings.

14. And when the sun came again, six of the thrones still rocked and shook, and there was fear in the face of the legions who guarded them with spear and with shield.

15. And the seventh throne, the throne near which the little

man had been standing, was tumbled down, utterly down, and all its guards and all its parasites were gone.

16. But where this throne had stood there was another throne, and this throne the people approached.

17. And the king who sat on the new throne held in his hand an olive branch, as the king on the old throne had held a sword; but the people were nearer the new king and the new throne than they had been to the old king and the old throne; and kings and thrones are seen to most advantage afar off.

18. So the people began to murmur even louder than before, and lifting up their voices on high, they said:

19. "The Lord destroyed one throne by the tempest, and man has built up another; shall we not destroy that also?"

20. And, strange to conceive, the little man who would not let the people approach unto the old throne, because it was Cæsar's, now cried out and said:

21. "People, the Lord hath hurled down one throne;—blessed be the Lord!—

22. "People! the thrones which you now see are the thrones of Cæsar; and the Lord said, 'Hurl down the thrones of Cæsar.'—Blessed be the Lord!"

23. And the people who had formerly called the little man a fool, now called the little man a prophet.

24. And from the vases which had been overturned they took out large handsfull, not of gold or of silver, or of precious stones, but of pœans, and hymns, and praises, and they showered them on the head of the little man.

25. And the little man, gorgeous with the vanities of the world, cried out and said:

"I am the man of God."

PROTESTANTISM.

CHAPTER VII.

The French Protestants—Protestant Population—Payment of the State to the Protestant Religion—"Institution of Public Utility"—Protestant Churches—The Calvinist Church—Nomination of the Clergy—Attention to the Poor—The Lutheran Church—Mixed Marriages—Education—Protestant Dissenters—Annual Conferences—Catholic and Protestant Pastors. *

THE French protestants are called calvinists and lutherans;† but the calvinists profess few of the doctrines of Calvin, and the lutherans few of the doctrines of Luther.

The confession of faith belonging to the old French reformed church, has lost its force, ‡ and no promise or profession as to his dogmas is exacted from the minister, on ordination. So little difference, indeed, divides the different protestant communities, that it is generally wished to sink all differences in the common title, adopted in Germany of "Evangelic;" and although different administrative differences interfere at present with such a union, it is not unusual to see lutherans preach from calvinist, and calvinists from lutheran pulpits. Instances, indeed, exist of what are called "*Eglises mixtes*," where one pastor presides over the two communions, while the holy table is alternately served with bread and with the wafer.

POPULATION.—The protestants may be reckoned at something more than a million, though that is the figure officially given, and there are many reasons to suppose they are on the in-

* I beg to acknowledge my obligation to the eloquent and excellent Mr. Athanase Coqurel for most of the facts which this chapter contains.

† The lutherans are chiefly in Alsace—the calvinists scattered throughout France.

‡ Not more than ten priests, says Mr. Athanase Coquerel, would be found to sign it.

crease; but though hanged in reality in 1662, and in effigy in 1667—persecution has not produced all its legitimate effects, and they are still less numerous than at the edict of Nantes.

SALARY AND STATE SUPPORT.—The payment of the state to the protestant religion is always voted without opposition.

The salary is 12 or 1500, or 2000 francs, according to the population of the clergyman's residence; at Paris 3000 francs are given.

Beyond this, there is no legal demand for any function which the priest is called upon to perform: all acts and extracts from the consistorial register are delivered also free of expense.

The body of the religious edifice is maintained by the state, but the service is defrayed, sometimes by funds belonging to a particular church, and derived from legacy; more generally by subscriptions.

A parsonage or presbytery is usually found in the rural districts by the commune. In the great towns, the department or the town commonly votes an allowance for lodging; and an additional subsidy, amounting to about the same sum, is accorded by the budget.

There is no retiring pension specially allotted for the priest, prevented by sickness or old age from continuing his duties, but in such case he is allowed to have a "suffragant," * who is sometimes paid by himself, sometimes by the consistory, and sometimes, though not frequently, by the state.

There exists at Bordeaux a society of clergymen engaged to afford mutual succour to the widows and orphans of the church, and since the revolution of July it has been allowed, by the title of "Institution of Public Utility," to receive legacies.

CHURCHES.—The churches are furnished either by the government, or the towns and communes, or by the religious communities themselves, in which case a certain allowance is given them by the state or department.†

But the greatest number of congregations want a place of

* What we should call curate or assistant.

† They are sometimes hired—sometimes lent.

worship ; offering up their prayers in the open air, or in some barn or grange, according to the season.

No where are the seats let; every place is open to the first occupant.

In many places the protestant was formerly a catholic church, now given up by the towns as no longer useful to its original possessors.

L'Oratoire at Paris is one of these, and was granted to the protestants in lieu of St. Thomas du Louvre, pulled down in order to enlarge the " Place du Carrousel."

The sacrifice was a great one; for the government had used this church (*l'Oratoire*) as a place of deposit for the decorations of the opera !

There are a few, and a very few places in Alsace, where, as in many parts of Prussia, the same building is consecrated to the catholic and protestant service; but this would be altogether impossible in the greatest part of France.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CALVINIST CHURCH.—The Calvinist church is divided into consistorial churches and sections.

The consistorial church has a *chef-lieu*, where sit *les anciens*, or elders, who, with the pastors, form a consistory.

The president of the consistory is always the oldest of the pastors in the consistorial circumscription.

The sections are churches at a certain distance from the *chef-lieu*.

The law has only authorized provincial synods composed of deputies from a certain number of consistories, and has not re-established the ancient general synod of the French reformed church. But even the provincial synods have never yet assembled.

From this it results that the Calvinist church in France has neither centre nor head, and that every consistory is absolute and independent in itself.

In the rural districts, however, the different pastors live so far apart from one another that even a consistory is rarely formed, and of course in these cases the pastors themselves are responsible to no superior authority.

The sections have sometimes a sort of subordinate consistory of their own; not recognised by the law, but established among themselves; the persons forming them, now under the title of elders, now under that of deacons, belong to the central and official consistory.*

NOMINATION.—The clergy are named by the consistories, on an absolute majority of votes taken by ballot, and the nomination is afterwards confirmed by the king. But in the important sections, the consistory of the sections designates a choice to the general or official consistory.

ATTENTION TO THE POOR.—In the principal districts there is, besides the consistory, a body under it, more or less numerous, as it may happen, and composed of deacons (*diacres*), and presided by pastors, who exclusively occupy themselves with the poor.

This body (*diaconat*) in Paris consists of forty or fifty, and contains five or six physicians.

The administration of the institution is excellent. A general meeting takes place every month, and a committee every week. The pastors preside the two meetings.

In the committee, the poor are received, questioned, and relieved; but unless they are well known, no relief is given until a domiciliary visit has taken place.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.—The organization of that part of the protestant church, professing the confession of Augsburg, is a little different from that of the calvinists which I have been describing.

It has—

1. A general consistory,
2. A directory,
3. An inspection,
4. A consistory.

The general consistory has little more than a nominative and formal authority. The directory alone has a real authority;

* The practice of these regulations depends necessarily upon the locality to which they are submitted.

which, however, is sometimes but rarely opposed by the consistories and the pastors.

There exists more order and regularity in the arrangements of the Lutheran; more independence in the arrangements of the Calvinist community; while the advantages attached to the followers of Luther are partly caused, and partly increased, by that body being less disseminated through the country.

Among the calvinists, on the contrary, it is usual to find one pastor preaching in five or six churches, at a distance of some leagues from each other, so that each church has a sermon but once in five or six weeks by the clergyman; on the other weeks it is read by (the *lecteur chantre*) the clerk.

In Saintonge there are 45,000 protestants who have only ten pastors; and the pastor of Arras has a community which extends over seventy-five communes.

Prayer book.—The prayer book in use with the calvinists, or reformed church, is that of Geneva, reprinted with some few new prayers.

The lutherans have their own prayer books.

Sacrament.—The sacrament is celebrated four times a year: at Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost, and the last Sunday in September or the first in October.

In the villages and small churches every protestant assists at the communion. In great towns, attendance on these solemn occasions is rare: still, it is to be observed, that the practice has of late become more frequent, and last Easter there were as many as 2,500 persons (lutherans and calvinists) who partook of the sacrament in Paris.*

Baptism.—Baptism is usual at quitting the church after service, but is also performed at any day or hour in the week, at the request of parents. It must be, however, always in the church, except in cases of severe illness.

The family may name a godfather or godmother, as they think proper, and no difficulty is made as to such persons being catholics.

* It is very rare for persons sick or dying to receive it in their own houses.

Marriages.—Mixed marriages are very rare in the country; more common, though still rare, in the great towns, but frequent in Paris—where three-fourths of the protestant marriages are of this description.

Strange to say—

When the husband is a catholic and the wife a protestant, every preference in the choice of that religion, which shall consecrate the civil contract, and which shall govern the children's lives, is given to the protestant church.

But when the husband is a protestant and the wife a catholic, the contrary takes place.

The system of giving the sons the religion of the father, and the daughters the religion of the mother, is sometimes practised, but more generally renounced, and it is considered best to have but one religion in the family.

It may be observed, that the protestants are in general, whether male or female, more fervid in their faith than the catholics, and more marriages, therefore, take place between a catholic husband and a protestant wife, as consistent with the forms I have remarked, than between a protestant husband and a catholic wife.

Education.—In respect to education, the protestants complain of the effects of the law proposed by M. Guizot (a protestant), because the protestant schools have been absorbed in the communal schools, which, taken from the schools of the majority, are now paid and supported by the public. I confess that, to me, these complaints appear perfectly unjust; wherever there is a protestant minister, he forms one of the council; nor is there any religious instruction given in such schools at all affecting the tenets of the scholars.

Dissenters.—France has her protestant dissenters, anabaptists, and methodists, as well as England.

But the protestant dissenters have neither the wealth, the numbers, nor the intelligence, of that large class amongst ourselves, who indeed only found their way to the Continent after the peace of 1814.

Ever since that time, however, they have made great pro-

gress, and, with the zeal for which they are elsewhere remarkable, propagated their chapels of ease, which frequently stand side by side with the protestant churches, throughout most of the provinces; making continual proselytes, especially among the women.

Their doctrines are those of the Athanasian creed, containing a belief in the supremacy of faith over works, and a literal construction of divine inspiration.

Some few clergymen of the protestant reformed establishment are said to lean towards these principles; but as the methodists contend for a separation of church and state, and the clergymen of the protestant establishment receive very unscrupulously a salary from the state, it is to be presumed that the differences of a spiritual nature, which exist, are not less powerful than this difference of a more temporal description.

The methodists have two societies: one called *La Société Evangélique*, the object of which is "to spread christianity through the world by every means which God has placed at their disposition;" the other, called *La Société Biblique*, which sells to all persons (except those of the national protestant church), bibles 50 per cent. cheaper than they can purchase elsewhere.

There are in Paris—Swiss, American, and English, as well as French methodist chapels, where the sacrament is now (this was not the case two or three years ago) delivered.

Conferences.—Mr. Athanase Coquerel, in 1833, as well for the purpose of introducing unity into the national church as for remedying any grievances that affect it, proposed annual conferences at Paris, which have been acceded to by the lutheran and calvinist clergy; and, as the circular in which these assemblies were announced is rare and interesting, I subjoin it.

"Les pasteurs et députés des Eglises, présents à Paris, pour les séances des sociétés religieuses, et réunis en conférence fraternelle le mercredi 24 Avril 1833, dans la salle du consistoire du Temple de l'Oratoire, sont unanimement convenu :—

"1. Que dorénavant, chaque année, le jour de l'assemblée générale de la société biblique, à neuf heures du matin, les pasteurs-adjoints, et pasteurs

suffragants des églises nationales des deux communions évangéliques, et les députés laïques de ces églises, se réuniront en conférence fraternelle.

"2. Que ces conférences s'ouvriront par une prière solonnelle.

"3. Que la séance continuera sous la présidence du doyen d'âge des pasteurs par la nomination, au scrutin secret, d'un président et d'un secrétaire qui entreront immédiatement en fonctions.

"4. Que ces séances reprendront tous les jours à la même heure.

"5. Que le procès-verbal ou le résumé des conférences, sera lithographié ou imprimé et envoyé à toutes les églises et à tous les pasteurs en France.

"6. Que les pasteurs des deux églises de Paris formeront un comité qui entrera en correspondance avec les consistoires et les pasteurs, leur donnera iuformation de la présente résolution et préparera, autant que possible, le travail et les objets à mettre en délibération."

It cannot but be interesting for us protestants, now meditating a reform in our establishment, to cast a retrospective glance over the pages I have just concluded.

In the discussion of the Irish church, Mr. D. Damer stated the whole income of the catholic priesthood in France at the amount given in the budget, supposing that the revenue of that body was solely confined to the contributions of the state; whereas the *casuel*, or fees and donations, usually double the catholic priest's allowance.

Not so, however, with the protestant pastor. His salary—*and he is married*—is not above 60*l.* a year. On this he contrives to render himself, his family, and his religion, beloved and respected; nor do I know of a protestant clergyman in France who might not almost be cited as a model of learning, industry, and humility, to the rest of his brethren throughout Europe.

We neither find him a libertine in one parish, nor a fanatic in the other. Sedulous in the maintenance and propagation of his own faith, he does not predict the fall of his country because an equal aid and protection is afforded to the religion of his catholic fellow-citizen.

In the organization of his church he is not subjected to the dominion of a religious hierarchy, named by court favour; the rule over him is that of the elders of his faith, consecrated by age, and a long character of piety, for their sacred office. Neither is he alien to the flock whose spiritual guidance he undertakes.

Paid by the state, but chosen by the congregation, he is the faithful subject of the one, and the beloved guide and father of the other.

He does not receive a splendid income in order that his duty should be performed, by another, for a beggarly stipend; and, instead of disputing the *quarta pars* with the pauper, he contrives, out of his pinching income, to provide for the wants of charity, and to dedicate part of his time to the administration of the poor.

In short, the protestant French clergyman resembles the protestant English curate, and would be worthy ten times what he receives, if the honour, in which he is held by his humble followers, did not almost as much proceed from his contempt of the wealth of this world, as from his pious covetousness after the riches of another.

NEW PHILOSOPHIES.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Trial of Enfantin—The Creed of the St. Simonians—Picturesque Apostle—Life and Doctrine of St. Simon himself—Comparison between St. Simon and his followers—Enfantin's departure for the East.

On the 8th of April, 1833, "the Father Enfantin" and Michel Chevalier were brought to the bar.

The first appeared remarkable for the elegance of his costume, and the gravity of his countenance.

Over his shoulders was thrown a rich velvet mantle, fringed with ermine; boots of a singular and graceful shape covered his leg as far as the knee; a beautiful cachemire, twisted round his neck, fell over his breast; and his long beard was arranged with the sacred care that should preside over the toilet of an apostle.

And lo! upon his fantastic followers,* polished and brilliant,

* As for Michel Chevalier, he was shaved and dressed like a plain Parisian.

glitters the mysterious collar, formed of steel, and composed of rings, triangular, oval, or round, according to the ideas of the wearer; for each ring is a token and a sign;—and in the midst of such strange cabala shines the spheric symbol, representing the Father, inscribed—

TO THE MOTHER.*

Such is the description of one of those singular spectacles which took place in Paris during the years 1832, 1833, at which period figured a set of men, not such fools as in England they were supposed to be, not such philosophers as they ridiculously described themselves to be. These visionaries preached a religion peculiarly adapted, as they dreamt, to their country and their time, but which was, in fact, opposed to all the deep seated and eternal principles which in every time and in every country are at the head, and at the root, and in the vigour, and in the mystery of human nature.

It was in the year previous to the trial I have quoted from, that the law first took notice of these theatrical Theosophists.

"It is some time," said the advocate-general, in opening his case, "since there has been formed at Paris a sect calling itself St. Simonian. Its chiefs have announced the intention to create a new religion, and to change the first principles on which society now reposes.†

* Un autre signe brille au milieu de plusieurs autres—c'est celui qui représente le Père Enfantin. Ce signe est d'une demi-sphère, dont la face porte ces mots gravés en relief:

A LA MÈRE.

† I continue the procureur-general's act of accusation in a note, since it explains the views of the Government in respect to the persons in question.

According to them, property is an evil which it has become a duty to extirpate—a privilege which should disappear as slavery, serfship, and feudal rights have disappeared before it.

Property is no longer to follow the course of descent, from father to son, but to be held in common, and distributed to each individual according to his merit. The sovereign distributors of all wealth are to be the ministers of this new worship—a very comfortable, though mayhap a very disinterested office, let me meekly observe, in any community.

The superiority which, according to existing laws, the male exercises over the female in certain cases, is according to the St. Simonians another abuse to which it is equally necessary to put an end.

The grounds of accusation against Enfantin, the father of this sect, and his disciples were:—1st. The forming an illegal association.—2nd. The fraudulently attempting to mislead the public in regard to their enterprise, and thereby obtaining money under false pretences.—3rd. The fraudulently obtaining a testamentary disposition.—4th. Offences against public morals

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Hence new precepts in respect to marriage, divorce, and the different relations between man and woman.

In order to publish these doctrines and gain proselytes to their opinions, this new sect have printed pamphlets, bought and conducted at their expense the newspaper called the Globe, and established correspondences in every part of France, and in the different parts of Europe.

At Paris rooms have been opened, where they have taught and preached.

It is in expectation of the time when this religion is to become universally predominant, and its ministers the depositories and the dispensators of the world's riches, that Bartholemy Prosper Enfantin, calling himself supreme chief of the St. Simonian religion, and Olivier Rodrigues, styled chief of this same creed, have made an appeal for funds to the public.

"Bring to St. Simon," have they said in their writings, "bring to him, who lays a moral foundation for the power of wealth, a part of your wealth, whether it be under the title of loan or gift, as may accord with your strength and love. I shall receive all with pleasure, and account for it with honour." And on this demand, sums were given and lent by different persons, and received without any formality or legal authorisation by the chiefs of the St. Simonian faith.

Moreover, an act of association has been drawn up, by which all those who enter into this society are declared to associate themselves, whether collectively or as a body; and to bring, as to a common stock, any goods that they are or may be possessed of. This body has indeed proceeded so far as to announce the creation of a stock, of which inscriptions have been sold; and it is calculated that nearly 300,000 francs (12,000*l.*) has already passed into their hands.

A complaint has been made by a widow named Robinet, formerly the wife of a notary at Meaux. This lady therein declares that her husband, being ill, was surrounded by the St. Simonians; that they persuaded him to be transported to a house belonging to their association—that they severed him from all the members of his family, and that thus profiting by his state of illness, abandonment, and obedience, they determined him to make a will appointing one of the St. Simonian chiefs his universal legatee; in proof of which the widow Robinet gave into court her husband's will, in which Prosper Enfantin was appointed to the office above named.

Enfantin acknowledged having no other acquaintance with Robinet than that which arose from his being at the head of the St. Simonian religion; and confessed to his having attended Robinet, in his last moments, as head and minister of that faith; contending merely that Robinet was transported by his own desire to the establishment where he had died, and that the disposition of his property had arisen from no unjustifiable means of persuasion.

arising from the tenor of the works professing to explain their doctrines.

The verdict was guilty, and the sentence accompanying it twelve months' imprisonment.

It would be easy to show, that if a gentleman was bent upon enriching himself at the expense of his neighbours, he would not, in the position assumed by Enfantin, find himself in a situation foreign to his acquisitive dispositions.

Guardian of the purse of all true believers, sole judge of merit, sole rewarder of it, and *ex-officio* the most meritorious of his tribe, I can conceive no situation that would have been more congenial to honest Jonathan Wild, than that of High Priest of the St. Simonians, as long as St. Simonians there were —ready to subscribe to the common fund—and to be paid according to their deserts by the father of the faith.

Let us confess more! nothing was so likely as, for a superficial observer of mankind, to imagine that the doctrines set forth in the Enfantinian prayer-book were well calculated to catch disciples, and thereby obtain the management of their resources.

The main difference between the creed of the philosophers of Menilmontant, and that which we revere as Christians, was the different duty inculcated in respect to the flesh. Mortify it, said Jesus:—Consult it, and indulge it, said the mountain's gracious and agreeable apostles.

It is easy to systematize the most fanciful theories; and these preachers of strange things had regularized theirs into chronological divisions.

"Every step that humanity takes," said Michel Chevalier, in his exposition of St. Simonism, "is a progress."

"Progress is the passage from an old state of things to a new state of things by the destruction of the old.

"Progress has always taken place by two alternate movements: the movement of construction and association, or the epoch organic and religious; the movement of destruction and dissociation, or the epoch critical and irreligious.

"It is thus that humanity, advancing step by step, from a system primitive and incomplete, has arrived at a system definitive and complete."

"*This complete system*" (I quote from M. M. Chevalier) is that of the St. Simonians.

Life, say these gentlemen, has two aspects, distinct yet united —an aspect material—an aspect spiritual. The destiny of humanity is to develop these two faces of its existence.

First one, then the other, then both together.

In the primeval æra of the world, and down to the time of our Lord, the material aspect ruled: matter then was the organic principle—spiritualism the critical principle.

The religion of Christ established spiritualism as the organic principle;—matter then became the critical principle; and matter, as represented by Descartes and Voltaire, triumphed over spiritualism represented by the church.

Such was the state of things up to the time of St. Simon; who was destined to unite the two principles into ONE, capable of comprehending both.

This is the last phase of society, the epoch of general association: the epoch which shall unite materialism and immaterialism, and put an end to the long contest between the flesh and the spirit.

At this epoch it becomes a duty as much to decorate the person as to ornate the mind; as much to gratify the senses, as to elevate the soul.

Happy and delightful period! when the sage shall retire to meditate with equal fervour on the flow of a garment, or the force of an opinion—when society shall be assorted according to its capacities, and every member of it pleased according to his passions!

I still remember being seated one morning, with a lady of my acquaintance, when the door suddenly opened, and a young man with a long beard and a bare neck, and a little kind of petticoat on, tramped into the room at much the same kind of pace that children use in playing at soldiers.

This was the first genuine St. Simonian I had seen, and I sat in quiet curiosity as to what was to happen.

The young gentleman was an apostle, and, as one of the best looking among his brethren, sent by the Father Enfantin to convert my pretty acquaintance. The object of the visit made it still more interesting to me.

The apostle sat down, and put himself as much as possible in the position of a man who is sitting for his picture.

"Sir," said the lady, "I have read most of your pamphlets; they are very well written.—I have seen your high priest, he is a very fine looking man. I have little property to lose, and people tell me I have considerable talent. We agree then, entirely, as to every one resigning his property and being paid according to his capacity; there are only one or two little matters on which I wish to acquire further information.

"I hear that we are to have no husbands; that we are to feel no affection for our children; and that, in order to destroy houses of ill-fame, a most laudable project, you intend to make overy one fit to go into them."

"Madam, permit me! I will explain to you our doctrine. We consider families, as you rightly observe, to be an antiquated invention; all parental affection will cease as soon as you establish a more free and more promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. Mothers will not know the fathers of their children; children will not know their own progenitors, and from this happy incertitude will arise a general affection—for what man will know whether his enemy is not his own son or his own father?

"But do not mistake us—we do not forbid constancy, we only do not preach it. If you, madam, are of a constant nature, you will only go on changing till you find a gentleman of a constant nature also.

"Different people have different constitutions. The business of the Father is to assort his disciples together, to suit their connexion to their disposition. Some men can be constant for a year;—the man that can be constant for a year, should be united to the woman, if such a woman is to be found, who can be so long constant. There should be marriages for months, weeks, and days, and then people would go on happily for the months, weeks, and days that they cohabited together.

"But children, when not accepted by society, are a tie upon the roving dispositions—that is, upon the natural pleasures of the parents. This is a crucifixion of the flesh; a cruelty and a slavery inconsistent with the age of intelligence and gratification

in which we live. We say to parents, then—'the community shall have charge of your children.'

"Such are our ideas, madam, ideas so simple, so natural, so excellent, so moral, that it always surprises me when any one can be found to differ from them. Such are our ideas: but ideas of the man are after all but precursory in respect to the woman. She, the woman, will herself shortly appear. Madam, you are very beautiful and charming—why will you not be the woman?"

"Sir, you are exceedingly obliging, I will give the matter my serious consideration—How is the father?"

"The Father, madam, is very busy at the present moment. In the first place, he is occupied with the difference of brother Bazard; in the next, he wishes exceedingly that his collar (here the apostle touched a part of his vest) should if possible be rendered more graceful."

Such was the language of this picturesque philosopher, whose aspect was certainly far more convincing than his eloquence.

Let me now turn to St. Simon!

In 1825, perishing from hunger, in a garret, died this extraordinary man, related to the famous Duke, whose Memoirs we are acquainted with—uncle to the Count de St. Simon, late minister in Sweden, and descended from the Dukes de Vermandois, peers of Charlemagne.

Mahomet could not boast of a life more full of action and adventure.

In 1760 he entered, at the age of seventeen, into the military service, and served five campaigns in America, with the rank of colonel. "Descartes," he says in his works, "was a soldier before he was a philosopher:—he was brave in the field, and daring in his studies."

This quotation he wished to be applied to himself. But the constitution of America struck him more forcibly than the war which secured it. "I was not born," he remarks, "to be a great captain, my mind was framed for a different species of activity;" and though he so far retained the habits of a camp, as to have been known throughout life as much for a duellist as a philanthropist, he soon gave up the career of arms, and

devoted himself to—what he conceived—the cause of perfection and civilization.

The revolution of America struck him in the same manner that it struck Paine:—as the commencement of an era in which the energies and destinies of the human race were to take a new development; and separating himself from the subversive system of the revolution of 89, he directed all his thoughts to the reconstruction of society, on a different foundation from that which had been destroyed.

Nor did he proceed without a plan!

The thirty-four years prior to the publication of *Le Nouveau Christianisme* were thus divided:

Seven years he allowed to the acquisition of pecuniary means—seven to the acquisition of metaphysical and scientific knowledge—ten to a philosophical—ten to a political renovation.

Pursuant to this course, he entered in 1770 into a commercial association with Count Redern, the gains of which were immense; and, separating himself from his colleague, St. Simon commenced the second part of his project.

And now, in order to pursue his studies with greater advantage, he established himself successively opposite the *Ecole de Mèdecine* and the *Ecole Polytechnique*. His house, his table, his purse, were prodigally open to every professor, or experimentalist in science.*

"Money!" said he to a physician, "is it money that you want to prosecute your discovery? here is money!" And he was known to have given to different individuals as much as 100,000 francs (4000*l.*) at a time.†

It is easy to imagine that no fortune could long resist so princely a disposition; and from the donor to science, this benevolent, if mistaken, man soon became the petitioner in its favour. It was then that the speculative philosopher, whose abilities every one had hitherto acknowledged, sunk into the *charlatan*, whose reveries every one despised.

* It was during this time that he published: *Les Lettres au Bureau de Longitude—Les Lettres sur l'Encyclopèdie—L'Introduction aux Travaux Scientifiques du 19ème Siècle—Les Mémoires sur la Gravitation, etc., etc.*

† M. Poisson, the celebrated geometrist, was known to be one of the favourite pupils of St. Simon.

This sudden turn of opinion, of which he was much too artless to perceive the cause, persuaded St. Simon, for a moment, that he had mistaken both his calling and his genius; and with the energy of his character, he immediately discharged a pistol at his head; which, though it miserably lacerated him, did not put an end to his existence.

Shortly afterwards *The New Christianity* was published; in which work, passing beyond his former theories, and taking them as the bases of his assertion, he proclaimed the impossibility of establishing any general system, except upon a "Sentiment of religion."

The last days of this unhappy enthusiast were passed in an honourable state of misery, which it is difficult not to feel for, as one considers the disinterestedness of his conduct.

"For a fortnight," says he not long before his death, "I have ate nothing but bread, and drank nothing but water. I am writing in the depth of winter without a fire; and I have just sold my coat in order to pay for the copy of my work. It is my passion for science and the public weal—it is my burning and unquenchable desire to deliver humanity, by some gentle process, from the errors in which it finds itself, that makes me support my distress with courage, and deprives me of any shame in acknowledging it."

I confess that, upon the memory of such a man, ridiculous and erroneous as I deem his opinions, I pause with a certain respect.....

The writings of St. Simon are the writings of a man of no common powers, but of a man who lacked that kind of practical intuition, the want of which separated Shelley from Byron in poesy, Plato from Aristotle in politics and philosophy. It is no use dreaming for mankind, if mankind is never to awake and find your visions true.

Different, however, from similar theorists who have preceded and succeeded him, St. Simon did not imagine that his doctrines were to change the world, but that the world was of itself passing into a change which would render his doctrines admissible and true.

He did not so much pretend to create as to foresee.

The founder of many theories, which, as they were subse-

quently systematized, became more ridiculous in being brought out more clearly, he was as far behind his disciples in absurdity and pretension, as he went beyond them in originality and intelligence.

St. Simon, in the first place, though impressed with the idea that a new social system was to be formed, does not seem so convinced of the necessity of a totally new creed.

He attacks the High Priests of Rome, not because they were the supreme pastors of the Catholic church, but because they had not for centuries properly fulfilled their mission. He does not excite the people against the representatives of St. Peter; but he blames the representatives of St. Peter for not being in alliance with the people. He does not wish there to be no pope; but he wishes the pope to be a philosophic philanthropist.

He says that the civilization of a people is to be judged by the social situation of woman; but he no where preaches the marvellous liberation of female kind.

He says that the profits of the capitalists, at the expense of the workman, go on gradually decreasing; but he says no where that a time will arrive when there shall be no capitalists. He says that the privileges of birth have been daily losing their importance; but he does not say that all the privileges of birth are entirely to cease, and that a man is to have no other family than society at large. He had the idea of making the labourer a sort of public functionary; but he had no idea of annihilating all the individuality attached to private existence.

He was a visionary and an enthusiast, but there were bounds to his enthusiasm, and a sense of decency presided over his visions.

Bazard and Enfantin announced themselves as revelators; and accepted St. Simon as their precursor.

Bazard, one of the chiefs of the French Carbonari, a man of much resolution and energy, stern and conscientious, was nevertheless under the influence of his brother prophet; who, equally inflexible, but more subtle and insinuating, contrived for a time to make his superiority and opinions generally received. But at last that *causa teterrima belli!*—woman—who has so often set philosophers and heroes by the ears, introduced an

indecent and irreconcileable controversy into the council of these preachers of universal union.

"The world," said Enfantin, "has hitherto been divided into two powers, or two families"—the power temporal—the power spiritual—the feudal family, and the papal family.

The one reposing on the succession of power by the descent of blood; the other on the succession of power by the election of merit.

The world, in its present state of intelligence, will no longer tolerate the first; but the second, founded on celibacy, though possible for a class, is impossible for a community.

The new family should neither be the feudal family, nor the papal family; but a family comprising the advantages of both.

In the papal family, incapacity could not arrive at place; in the feudal family, the ties of blood connected the superior with the inferior—the father with the child.

Now listen to St. Enfantin's admirable advice!

The ceremony of confession, however practised in the Catholic church, was in theory, at all events, a mental or spiritual process. This—christianity being the religion of the spirit according to the St. Simonians—was as it should be. But St. Simonism was the religion of the flesh as well as of the spirit; the ceremony of confession was therefore to partake of the nature of the faith, and be somewhat in harmony with the flesh also.

In short, as the confession in catholicism was the communion of mind with mind, the confession of St. Simonism was to be the communion of mind with mind through the medium of the body; and all that we mean now by saying that a lady is going to the devil, we might, in the St. Simonian era, have expressed by saying that she was going to the confessional.

The sovereign pontiff then would be, by duty, bound to confess all the ladies whose superiority entitled them to such a distinction; and the sovereign priestess would have an equal obligation to perform to the eminent men whose piety led them, and whose genius entitled them, to her couch.*

* It is needless to observe that no tie could be invented which would so

But what the Priest-King and the Priestess-Queen did for people of the very first distinction, the priests and priestesses of different degrees were to do for persons of less pretensions; and certainly, when one considers that the priesthood was to be the government, one must confess that no other constitutional system ever provided for so close and constant an amalgamation of the governors and the governed.

By this ingenious contrivance, vice was to be banished from the world; there was to be no profligacy, no prostitution.

For a prostitute was honoured as a priestess, and a profligate venerable as a priest; while the St. Simonian family became, as it was intended, united by ties of consanguinity, and distinguished according to merit.

Still there was one injunction upon the priesthood, which it would be right to mention, since it must be confessed that it threw a serious impediment in the way of their duties.

Those duties were to be performed with a perfect calm.

Was it from this that the High Priest Bazard dissented?—he did however dissent; not having, in the words of the more enlightened, a mind sufficiently great and elevated to comprehend the necessity and the sublimity of this political and philosophical and sensual connexion.

The defection of such a man as Bazard was important; but more so, was a vast diminution in proselytes—upon the announcements of those doctrines which few, for the honour of France, were capable of appreciating.

Funds ceased to fall in, and disciples consequently increased falling off, until the sacred Enfantin, gathering his most devoted about him, retired to the solitudes of Menilmontant, where he was daily falling into a neglect and contempt, under which he would have ridiculously perished, if the government had not kindly invested him with some kind of importance by its prosecution.

The personal ascendancy which this impostor exercised, was certainly of an extraordinary description. One of his followers, now sufficiently ready to ridicule his former master, has

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closely bind the chief with the community, and render that term—now so frequently misapplied—strictly correct, viz.—

That sovereigns are the fathers of their people.

nevertheless told me a most marvellous tale of the fascinating manner with which "the father" was known to have converted two avaricious old advocates who poured, at his bidding, their hard earned and dearly prized gold into the common purse; and such an impression has he left upon some of his disciples, that many still profess to consider that there was nothing ridiculous in his trusting his defence to—his regard.*

There were upon the jury, however, men with hearts "impassible,"—and our modern Mahomet was condemned, as we have seen, to a year's imprisonment; at the end of which he set out for the region whence the sages of old came from, and embarked—with St. Simonism and a plan of cutting through the isthmus of Suez—for the East.

CHAPTER IX.

The sea turned into lemonade—M. C. Fourrier's system of the Four Movements—The Fourrieristes' system of Education—Those who have not found, and yet seek a religion.

However extraordinary the sect of St. Simonians, there are other philosophies, in Paris, not a whit less singular.

It may rather startle the grave and prudent people of the metropolis to hear of a sage who asserts that the sea is, in its natural process, turning into lemonade; and who logically proves that the fate of humanity, in distant generations, will be to sustain an ornament behind, which it would be rather difficult to arrange with a pair of breeches.

Such, however, are among the doctrines of M. C. Fourrier, a man of great powers of mind, and who has for his disciples many of the most grave and disciplined youth of France.

* When called upon for his defence, Enfantin rolled his eyes round the room, and fixing them on the jury, said: "*Que sa défence était dans son regard.*"

It would not be impossible, in the space that yet remains to me for this subject, to go at any length into the various ramifications of that system which was first announced in 1808 by *la théorie des quatre mouvemens*.

The basis of "Fourrierisme" is the doctrine of attraction, not merely applied to the material but to the moral world; and necessarily leading to a system of association as the natural condition of society.

This, M. Fourrier believes to be alone prevented by an improper development of the passions.

His object, then, is to form mankind into associations in which their passions *will* be properly, or as he would say, harmoniously developed.

With this view he proposes a kind of college, called a *phalangstère*, where a certain number of individuals live and labour together; and in such college, he furthermore proposes to turn the natural propensities of men, which at present so frequently lead them to injure each other, to the greatest common advantage. His plan consists chiefly in making employment a pleasure, and in gratifying our favourite inclinations in our most useful pursuits.

Considering toil to be tedious in proportion as it is monotonous, and that one of the great characteristics of human-kind is versatility—all labour is to be of short duration, and every member of a *phalangstère* is to be educated for a variety of alternate occupations.

Here too the character of the individual is to be preserved, and the economy of the community obtained; for instance, in that most important part of existence which depends on the kitchen, instead of 2,000 women being occupied in cooking the dinners of 2,000 husbands, as would be the case if these couples were living in separate cabins—fifty are to suffice for this duty, and 1950 remain at liberty to do any thing else. But with this community of cooks there is not to be any common broth; every one is to come for his own particular plate, and a *phalangstère's* kitchen is a *restaurateur's* shop;—separate to consult the palates of each; united to provide for the wants of all.

It may be worth while to follow M. Fourrier more closely

into that part of his system where his ideas appear to most advantage, viz. the education of his disciples.

The great fault of our educationary discipline system is—that it represses all those passions and propensities which it ought to profit by and bring out.

Who is the poor creature that Dr. Such-a-one calls a good boy?

A poor sallow-faced thing with chilblained fingers struck into both pockets; without that animal energy that would withdraw him from his lesson, and wanting the spirit for adventure and enterprize, which, if it lead the boy into mischief, carries the man to distinction.

The aim of the master is to macadamize the child's character down to the flattest possible level: the least little bit of originality and inequality is to be scolded or whipped out of him; and if you wish to discover who will be the greatest person in the world, you may be pretty sure, that your guess is not a bad one—if you lay your fingers on the worst lad in the school.

M. Fourrier's system is in direct contradiction to this absurd and manifest error.

He recognises, as a necessity, the natural disposition of a child in the different ages of infancy; and instead of crushing it with severity, supplies it with materials on which to work with advantage.

The child, incapable of thought, is for ever in movement. He cries, he jumps, he breaks this thing, he dirties that, and is perpetually encountered with the command, "Be quiet, Sir!"

The Fourrieristes on the contrary say: "Be active—be restless—be what nature makes you!"

And they employ him in doing with utility that which an invisible agency teaches him to do with pleasure.

He breaks, he tears to pieces, he soils, but he does all this in such branches of industry, as make his amusements profitable instead of destructive to the society in which he lives.

Nor is this all: in the second stage of childhood, which is fixed by this sect at two years and a half or three years old, every pains is taken—not merely to satisfy the natural dispositions of children—but to discover the natural bias of the child.

He is led with care through the different workshops or

school-rooms, and attention is paid to all the sympathies in which a peculiar instinct might seem to manifest itself; and thus it is, that at four years and a half the boy generally gains his livelihood by his amusements.

After that age, a new duty arises: the happy and profitable development of the senses, which from nine to fifteen is succeeded by an equal attention to the affections.

And now, from fifteen and a half to twenty, comes the period of the passions; a period for which M. Fourrier has created two orders; one which he calls the order of the *Vestalat*, intended for those whose desires are still restrained by natural feelings of chastity and reserve.

Another called the *Damoisellat* "*où tout est l'amour!*" to to use the French interpretation, "*mais pas encore la paternité.*"

The philanthrophist blushes before the infamy of these regulated disorders for so tender an age—and which the English reader would be rather startled to find advocated on the ground of morality.

Le Damoisellat is a substitute for prostitution and adultery; a preventive to marriage from the mere animal feeling which is afterwards followed by disgust. The serious proposal of such an infernal institution almost reconciles one to the vices it was intended to remedy;—still let in France the gallantry of proper ladies be treated leniently by society, and the frailties of improper ladies licensed by the state!

In all this, we find a proof of that laxity in respect to female conduct, and of the indulgence with which the public regard the sexes' failings, without which such a code would scarcely have been invented—certainly not avowed.

But what can be said—unless we recur to what is reported of the ancient mysteries—for those scenes in which the privacies of the marriage couch are made a public ceremony—and philosophy, forsooth, appears arranged in the shameless attire of a Parisian brothel?

Besides the two sects that I have mentioned—sects which suppose, or did suppose, that a new system of religion or religious philosophy was found—there are other sects, declaring themselves still on the search after this *ignis fatuus* of their time. "O mes contemporains," exclaims one of the most

distinguished of these, " je vous vois tous en quête d'une religion, ni pour vous, ni pour votre postérité immédiate; mais chaque jour dans vos désillusionemens, ce mot religion erre sur vos lèvres."

The author of the words I quote says that " religion is philosophy, and philosophy the science of life;"—every age, he believes, has understood human existence in a particular way, from which has proceeded a particular philosophy, generating a particular religion.

The character of the present epoch, he concludes, is " founded on the perfectibility of mankind—the history of science, literature, and the arts."

Hence the principles of equality and fraternity, from which are to arise a philosophy that our era will receive, and a religion that our era will recognize.

The world exhibits, according to these doctrines, a series of perpetual changes; and as there were different epochs in its material formation—epochs when it could only produce vegetables, when it subsequently produced fish, animals, and ultimately mankind—so in its moral organization there are also epochs, when the present—sown with the past—will produce a future,—not independent of preceding events because begotten by them—not bound by preceding events because beyond their region; and thus, if equality, and liberty, and authority have not yet been compatible with each other—they may be so; the ideas of each proceed from antiquity, their union may be the work of modern times.

" Inspirons-nous de ce désir de notre époque, et cherchons des formes nouvelles qui puissent satisfaire ses besoins."*

Those are equally in error, preaches this youthful sage from whom I quote, who think to establish new systems without the aid of our older chronicles—or who would circumscribe the growing desires of mankind by any ancient system inapplicable to modern days.

" You are right," says he to the catholics, " to attach yourselves to your tradition; on that tradition all subsequent theories have been founded—but do you not see the faith which

* Let us inspire ourselves with this desire of our time, and seek new forms which shall satisfy its wants.

gave life to catholicism, first migrated to protestantism, and then to philosophy. Why, when its young shoots have taken root in the earth, go seek the old and withered trunk? see you not that nature has conspired its ruin, that the seasons which nourished it of old now alternately assail it;—and that the worms begotten in its core are silently crumbling it to pieces?"

The error of this doctrine is in the idea on which it is founded. The condition of humanity changes, and society is, therefore, wisely subjected to a perpetual series of laws. But human nature itself does not change, and it is to human nature, and not the condition of humanity, that religion properly belongs.

Let people talk, if they will, of christianity appertaining to another civilization!—that creed which, at its birth, invaded the wildernesses of Africa and the groves of Greece, which in after times was equally received by the polished refinements of the East and the barbarous heroism of the West, and which, even at the moment that I write, demands new churches in the metropolis of the British empire—is climbing the steps of the temple of the Indian idol—and raising shrines amidst the blazing woods of America—that creed is for mankind and not for any peculiar condition of our race;—its foundations are laid—not in our habits—but in our hearts; and after all this farrago about the history of science, literature, and the arts, and the principles of equality and fraternity which rest thereon—in what system of that modern philosophy, by which christianity, forsooth, has been or is to be absorbed, do we find the principles of equality and fraternity so firmly seated as in those very doctrines preached by Christ Jesus 1835 years ago, and which have been gaining proselytes from that year to this?

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the earlier portion of this work, I spoke of the character of the French; and so in later passages I have been able to note various instances in which that character is still displayed.

The character of a people is, no doubt, ever visible. But if the dispositions of society depend in somewise, upon causes

which are hereditary and undestructive, the organization of society depends upon a cause which the legislature can change and has changed in an extraordinary degree in France; whatever relates to the propensities of that nation remains the same as formerly; whatever relates to its rights is altered.

But to make a general alteration in the rights of a people, you must make a general alteration in the condition of a people. It is not sufficient to legislate at the surface of society, you must strike at its root. In short, in order to affect the general distribution of rights, you must affect the general distribution of property.

In all the subjects of which I have just been treating, we trace the effects of this cause—which, widening the public arena, making literature more popular, religion less monarchical, has breathed into philosophical speculation a spirit of fraternity and association natural to arise in a land, the proprietors of which possess little and possess alike.

DIVISION OF PROPERTY.

BOOK IV.

"The study of truth is perpetually joined with the love of virtue; for there is no virtue which derives not its original from truth; as, on the contrary, there is no vice which has not its beginning from a lie."

DRYDEN.—*Character of Polybius.*

CHAPTER X.

Difference between France under Napoleon and England under Cromwell—The most important question in France, the division of its property—Mr. Cobbett, jun.'s ride through that country.

WHEN Oliver Cromwell assumed the protectorship of England, one man succeeded to another. The sovereign changed, and not the country. When Napoleon declared himself Emperor of France, France was no longer the France of 1789. The revolutions that had mounted to the palace, had descended to the cottage. The revolutions that had ruled the capital, had traversed the provinces. As the ancient divisions of the country had been cut up into departments and arrondissements, so also the ancient properties of the country had undergone similar transformations and divisions. It was impossible for the restoration to return to the old government and the old opinions. The moral condition of France could never be the same as it had been, for its material condition had effectually and permanently altered; the government of Louis XVI. reposed on about two millions and a half of landed proprietors;—the government of Louis-Philippe has the broader basis of at least five millions.

The most important question connected with France is undoubtedly this division of property.

Many are the things that have been said for and against it—most of them very exaggerated; some, very amusing.

A little book which I have once alluded to—"Ride through France, by Mr. Cobbett, jun."—bears artless testimony to the utter uselessness of personal observation.

A young gentleman of acute mind and much practical information sallies forth on a tour through France, in order to judge for himself of the state of that country.

Do not imagine that this young gentleman is one of your ordinary post-paying or diligence-be-darkened travellers, trusting to the breath-besmeared windows of a vehicle for the view which is to furnish the memoranda necessary for his volume.

No: more sagacious and more determined, he packs up his horse with himself, and starts, thus independently equipped, for Calais. Well; he arrives—he tells you at once the price of horseshoeing and oats; of supper, breakfast, and dinner; and, having thus appealed to your attention, sets out earnestly and heartily on his adventures.

His object, reader, is the same as yours, if you wish, as I presume, to inquire into the state of the peasantry in that land which he has undertaken to visit. Let us, then, follow him through his desultory journal; we shall be sure to pick up some useful and practical information.

For instance:—

"These people (the people at the Calais market) are *well dressed*: the labourers pretty much in the same fashion as the English, with smock frocks and trousers made of linen stuff of a blue colour, and shoes and hats like the English. The women are strikingly uniform in their dress, and in wet weather *all wear cloaks.*"

Come, this is pretty comfortable; where are we going to, and what shall we see next?

Our traveller is in the neighbourhood of St. Omer:

"The dress of the women, that I see at work in the fields, is coarser than that generally worn by our labourers' wives and daughters—but it exhibits *very little of that raggedness* which *now characterises the dress of so large a portion of those who earn their bread by hard work in England.*"

Let us on—

"A labourer gets from one totwo francs a day, according to his ability: journeymen carpenters, bricklayers, and the like, about the same. The price of beef is eight sous (four-pence) the pound—*a loaf of bread the size of an*

English quartern, five sous (two pence halfpenny), two fowls, two francs, (one shilling and eightpence)."

I do not think an English labourer would see much in this state of things that he would not be very kindly disposed to accept:—

But we are coming into a new country.

BRIARRE, PROVINCE OF GASTINOIS.

"The dress of the labouring people here is certainly *better than that of the labourers in England.*"

And again, 106:

"The dress of the labourers in France is good. They wear, in all parts of the country that I have yet seen, a smock frock and trousers of a blue colour, like the dress worn by most of the labourers in the county of Sussex. The garments of the Sussex men, however, are very frequently in a state of *raggedness*, which is seldom the case with those of the *French.*"

And now for a good breakfast!

"I do not see," says our traveller, "why this cabbage, which had plenty of bread in it, andthe wine, should not be *a thousand times better for breakfast* than the *cold potatoes* and *tea* which are now so *fashionable* among the common people of England."

CHATILLON SUR INDRE, PROVINCE OF BERRI.

§145. "The *labouring people* or *peasantry* have usually *cows of their own.* Sometimes one cow, sometimes two or three cows belong to one labourer's family. They keep also pigs of their own."

Upon my word!—

167. "The bread made of rye near Tours, and which the peasantry eat, sells for *one sous and a half*—not *quite a penny*—a quartern; and *is better than our finest baker's bread.*"

210. "Some people who have been travellers in this country exclaim, *how many beggars there are in France!* There are, to be sure, a great many beggars here; but I have not seen more of them in the country parts of France, than I should have seen in England, had I been travelling in England along the same high road. I certainly did not see so many beggars in *Paris* as I have seen in *London*, and there is *this important difference* between the individual appearance of the beggars in France and England:—*a very large portion of* our beggars are *neither aged nor infirm*, while in France there is scarcely *any object* of this description *that is not old* or in some way *incapable of earning a living.*"

"The greater part of the *English beggars* beg because they *cannot get employment*: and the beggars of France beg because they are *unfitted for employment*. It is the state of society in England which causes the beggar, while in France, it is his inability to render society any service."

What are we inclined to think of all this? Might we not suppose that our equestrian philosopher had discovered the people of France to be better off than the people of England; and the state of society, which will not find labour for the able man, to be even worse than that which allows the disabled man to solicit support?

But hold—Mr. Cobbett is arrived in Normandy.

The people of Normandy appear to him in a far better condition than those of any part of France he has traversed.

He says very naturally—"I should like to know the reason of this." Now, as he had found the people of France better off than the people of England, and as the people of Normandy seemed to him better off than the rest of the people of France, we might expect that he would seek "this reason" in some circumstances which existed in Normandy itself, and which had nothing to do with the rest of France and nothing to do with England.

But no: an idea suddenly strikes him, viz. that the people of Normandy fare better than the rest of the people of France because there is some resemblance between them and the people of England, who, according to him, fare worse than the people of the rest of France.*

Down then with the pyramid of observations I have been building up! Let us congratulate the unfortunate English peasant, whose melancholy face is turned hopefully to the Poor-house! he is in the best possible system, in the best possible world—and if the peasant of France be *actually better* off than himself,—by every rule of philosophy and political economy *he ought not to be so.* Happy consolation! I wish Mr. Cobbett, when he was considering the present, had turned his horse's head, for a moment, towards the past.

* He says he was told that the superior condition of Normandy is owing to the large estates which formerly existed there, and which still to a certain degree remain.

What was the Norman, living on milk and on raw flesh, clothed in the skin of some wild beast, the worshipper of Thor and of Woden?

What was the Norman, when the affrighted population of France murmured at their altars, *A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine!*

What was the Norman, when he took possession of Sicily, besieged Constantinople, conquered England, and carried his fierce Leopard within the walls of Antioch and Jerusalem?

Is it not the same spirit of activity, the same cast of prudence, which the old chronicles have given him, in his days of rapine and adventure, that with the progress of society he has transplanted into the pursuits of agriculture and commerce?

The character of the Norman has been, at all times, different from that of the races with which he is now intermingled: enterprising, calculating, industrious;—not independent of circumstances certainly, but his horse is not independent of circumstances;—yet feed and exercise that horse as you will, though it shall become more or less fat—more or less sleek—and more or less active—it will be always superior to the animal which grazes in a barren paddock in Picardy, and always inferior to the barb which roves in Arabia, or the thoroughbred which runs at Newmarket.

Mr. Cobbett supposes that the custom of primogeniture prevailed exclusively in Normandy, and that the superior agricultural prosperity of Normandy is owing to the remaining effects of such custom.

There are three facts to state in opposition to this:—

First; The custom of primogeniture did not prevail all over Normandy.

Secondly; Since its abolition, the agriculture of Normandy, which according to Mr. Cobbett's reasoning ought to have degenerated, has in reality most considerably improved.

"L'usage des jachères," says M. Loriol in his *Description géographique et statistique de la France*, lately published—"l'usage des jachères était autrefois général en Normandie, mais il se perd de jour en jour. Au commencement de ce siècle elles pouvaient déjà être évaluées, pour le département en général,

à moitié seulement du sol qu'elles occupaient de 1790 à 1792, et aujourd'hui on ne les suppose guère que du dixième des terres consacrées à la culture."*

Lastly; If Mr. Cobbett had given a look at those parts of Normandy in the hands of great proprietors, and those parts of Normandy which are cut up into small properties, he would have found, that if the maintenance of large estates ought to be favourable to their culture, it is still—strange to say! those very districts of Normandy the most divided which are the best cultivated.†

Mr. Cobbett, however, had not time for this—he was obliged to be off, leaving us and himself in a strange perplexity, which is hardly dispelled by the following sentence:

"This (the effects of the law of primogeniture) is a subject full of important considerations, one that I should like to see ably discussed, but certainly one which I never bestowed a thought on till I entered this famous province of Normandy."

Now, this is singular!

As long as Mr. Cobbett travelled over France, merely observing what he saw, he thought the people of that country very comfortably arranged;—but directly he began to reflect on the cause of their condition, he discovered that they ought to be plunged in the deepest misery and distress!

No marvel then that a gentleman who, under these circumstances, took much the wisest way—who, seeing all the folly and vanity of personal research, did not, I am pretty sure, give himself the pains of such information—no marvel then that a gentleman,—with merely the report of our factory committee, and the report of our poor law commissioners, and the tables indicative of the increase of crime in Great Britain, piled up upon his library table,—should have rubbed his hands a little pharasaically, and rejoiced at the happy contrast which existed between the people of his own contented land, and those of the "well dressed"—"well employed"—"cloak-covered"—"cow-keeping"—"fine-bread-eating"—"wine-breakfasting" wretches on the other side of the channel.

* For this and other translations not given in notes—See Appendix.

† I may quote that very intelligent gentleman, M. de Tocqueville, who is known to us for his work on America, and whose family possess estates in that province, as one of my authorities.

CHAPTER XI

Mr. Macculloch on the effects of the division of property in France—His arguments: First, "A sense of their inferiority in younger children will excite them to make extraordinary exertions after wealth;" Secondly, "That the bias in the heads of great families to provide for younger children out of the public establishments is very faint."

The fable of Achilles is but an allegory. The wisest and the strongest have a part that is vulnerable to every coward and every fool; and far be it from me to derive any pert satisfaction from the proof which I shall venture, somewhat presumptuously, to give, that a very able man may be betrayed by haste and prejudice into a very negligent composition. The error of the author, I am about to criticise, has been the common error—the error which too usually follows us into all our judgments of men and things; the error which allows us to perceive nothing right where we see any thing wrong; the error which leads the liberal to despise the tory as a blockhead; the tory to loath the liberal as a traitor; the error which teaches the fanatic to believe there is no safety out of his creed; the political economist to believe there is no fact at variance with his theory.

If Mr. Macculloch had been satisfied with fairly comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems under which property may be disposed of;—if he had stated certain principles, as likely to affect that system which is prevalent in France, acknowledging, at the same time, the subordination of such principles to various influences—many of which are even beyond the scope of our dim intelligences; if he had recognized the faults inherent in the custom of primogeniture, as well as those attendant on the custom of equal succession; if he had seen the causes which sometimes counteract and sometimes counterbalance the dangers of a law, which in the country of which I am writing has produced evil as well as good;—but certainly not the evil which mere speculation might have

induced us to anticipate;—I should have paid that respect to him as a philosopher which I now withhold from him as an enthusiast. "Enthusiast," I say, for a man may be an enthusiast, though a compiler of facts and an arguer with figures; and God only knows the mischief that is committed by gentlemen whose wisdom consists mostly in their appearance, and who conceal more than the madness of Sir Launcelot beneath the grave and solemn aspect of Dr. Syntax.

But, sensible of the delicacy of my task, I wish to strip it as much as possible of the usual vagueness of presumption; and while I do justice to the arguments of Mr. Macculloch, by laying them as plainly as possible before my readers, to do also justice to his understanding, by showing how little those arguments could have met with his serious consideration.

MR. MACCULOCH'S ARGUMENT.—I.

The prejudices of most political philosophers, against the custom of primogeniture, seem to rest on no solid foundation; for the institution or custom of primogeniture, by giving the estate to the eldest son, forces the others to quit the home of their father—and *the sense they must feel of their inferiority* in point of wealth, as compared with the head of their family, will be a motive to them to make extraordinary exertions, *which could not have had any existence, if their patrimonies had been equal to his.*

Now, so much of this is correct: it is advisable to give society a stimulus to enrich itself—Why is this? to render society happier? but if the stimulus you employ to make people happier, only makes them more miserable—you then defeat the object you have in view, by the method you take to attain it. Is it not so?

Mr. Macculloch says: "The law of primogeniture will best make a nation rich; and riches are a means of happiness; therefore, the more rich you make a nation, the more happy you make it."

The opponent to the law of primogeniture, if the argument were to rest upon this ground, might not find it difficult to refute his antagonist.

"Riches," he would say, "are, as you observe, a means of happiness; but they are not happiness. If the method you pursue to make a nation wealthy embitters the pursuit and the

possession of wealth, if the method you take to give people the means of enjoying themselves deprives every one of enjoyment, you are the last of legislators and philosophers, though you may call yourself the first of political economists.

What, according to you, is the result of your law of primogeniture?

A community consists of so many families; a family of so many children.

On the eldest born you bestow, not what is to satisfy him, but what is to make those who are begotten a year or two after him restless, envious, and discontented. "*The sense they are to feel of their inferiority in point of wealth, is to induce them to make extraordinary exertions*," not to gratify their own wants, remember, but to equal another's fortune!

There are five brothers: to one the father says, "I leave you more than you want, because it will make your brothers wretched until they have as much." To the four other brothers the same kind parent observes, "I have left you less than you want, that you may have no peace till you have more than you require." The one is to have every appetite pampered, in order that the others may have every faculty worn out.

Observe! if the younger brother found himself in his proper place—if he felt contented at being poor when his elder brother was rich, the whole value of your system would be gone: where you make four contented persons, you make four paupers; it is only where you make four miserable persons that you have a chance of making four rich persons; and you have contrived all this—who would suppose it!—for the benefit of whom? not of the four poor persons—not of the one over-rich person—you have consulted the well-being of nobody, in order to make every body well off.

You cannot tell me that the course you pursue, as best for that indefinite creature called society, is best for any one of the creatures of which society is formed; thus, to a nameless, shapeless, insensible whole, you sacrifice every one of the real feeling sensitive parts; and this, because a nation should be rich, you esteem making a people happy.

It may be possible, therefore, to substitute for your stimulus to the acquisition of wealth, another stimulus;—not so strong

perhaps, as that it replaces, but nevertheless better; because, instead of being inimical to the happiness which wealth is to procure, it may in itself contain elements of enjoyment.

Is such the custom of equal succession?

A man starts in the world with 400*l.* a year. He quadruples this and has at the end of his days four children. He says, on his death-bed to each of these children: "I started in the world with 400*l.* a year—I have succeeded in the world; I have made myself a name; I have made myself a fortune; and I have the happiness to leave each of you just what I myself began with."

Here there is no envy, no jealousy working upon the three brothers to become as rich as the elder one—filial admiration, parental affection, a respect for their parent's memory, a desire to do as much for their own children—these are the emotions you inspire!

Contrast such emotions with those you have been eulogizing! they are surely more consistent with human nature, if they are not so powerful over human ambition. The abolition of the law of primogeniture does not destroy all inducement to industry. It substitutes one inducement for another—an inducement which may be weaker, but which is better; more pious, more noble; not only exciting the energy, but elevating the character, and developing the affections; less productive, it may be, of wealth which is a means of happiness, but more consistent with happiness which wealth is intended to procure.

The opponent to the law of primogeniture might reply thus, and reply with success if the advantages of primogeniture depended upon the argument with which Mr. Macculloch principally defends it: I say "principally defends it," because what follows is rather an excuse for its defects than a proof of its merits.

ARGUMENT 2.

It has sometimes been (exaggeratedly) contended that the custom of primogeniture is injurious, because it interests the leading families of the country in the support of expensive public establishments, in which their younger brothers are commonly placed.

This bias, if it really exist, seems to be *very faint*. In so far as the administration of public justice is concerned, the younger branches of great fa-

milies have certainly evinced *no very particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations it affords.*

The advantages held out by the army, to a man who has been *genteelly brought up*, are certainly in a pecuniary point of view very far from alluring; and had the bias in question been so strong as represented, it is suprising that some more strenuous efforts should not have been made, by the wealthi er classes, to get the pay of the officers augmented.

Much has been said about situations in the colonies; *but colonies were not originally acquired* to provide situations for any particular class, but to extend the commeroe of the country; and at this moment, if we except a few of the higher appointments, *the others are as commonly filled* by the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by those of landed gentlemen.

And supposing outlets for the latter, in the army, navy, and church, were narrowed, *it would merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, a change which, whether advantageous or not to others, would be anything but injurious to them.*

I confess that if I thought what Mr. Macculloch said in favour of the law of primogeniture not very strong, what he says in apology of it appears to me even more strikingly weak.

In the first place as to the law: "The younger branches of great families have evinced no particular desire to encroach upon the many lucrative situations which it affords."

The law happens to be a very hard-working profession, and as the fame and fortune to be acquired at it depend more upon the public than upon the government, no persons are likely to enter upon the laborious offices of that career who have not a considerable degree of talent and industry to devote to it.

To say, therefore, that the younger branches of the great families do not do this—is to say—what? that the law of primogeniture fails where it ought, according to Mr. Macculloch's previous argument, to be most successful—that it actually fails in inspiring that very industry and energy which he said, a little while ago, it was its peculiar principle and merit to beget!

But is it true that the younger branches of these families do not run after the honours and lucre of the legal profession, where those honours and that lucre can be most easily obtained?—Let us even take the heads of these families!—Let us, and let Mr. Macculloch, look at that list of sinecurists which we owe to the industry of the once radical Sir James Graham!

Lord Ellenborough; the chief Clerk of King's Bench; fees.	£9,625	8	1
Hon. W. H. I. Scott; receiver of the fines of the court of Chancery.	240	14	8
Do;—Registrar of affidavits.	1,816	13	8
Do;—Clerk of the letters patent.	553	14	11
Earl Bathurst; Clerk of the Crown	1,108	5	0

"But the army and navy, to a man genteelly brought up, are certainly, in a pecuniary point of view, far from alluring; and had the bias in question been so strong as it has been represented, it is somewhat surprising that some more strenuous efforts should not have been made by the wealthier classes to get the pay of the officers augmented."

Without cavilling at that rather indefinite expression—"*genteelly brought up*," and which, seemingly intended to apply to Duke-lets and Earl-lets, is most scandalously unjust if it exclude any of the butcher's and baker's sons who are "most genteelly brought up" in the various "genteel" seminaries at Turnham Green, Pimlico and Clapham—without cavilling at that expression "*genteelly brought up*," and supposing Mr. Macculloch to mean what his words do not precisely mean, viz.—

That the wealthy aristocracy are not to be found in the army and navy, because if they were, they would take care that the army and navy were a more lucrative profession. If this be Mr. Macculloch's meaning, as from page 460, to which I refer, it would appear to be, he is certainly adopting a very novel view of the subject.

Why, no one has ever yet pretended to deny that the system of high purchase and low pay in the army is exclusively for the purpose of favouring the wealthy classes; it gives them, and them only, the opportunity—in time of peace—(for danger and necessity level many distinctions) of arriving at the head of their profession.

This has always been candidly avowed, and indeed boasted of and defended, as the peculiar advantage of our military system over that of other nations; and, indeed, where you have a rich aristocracy at the head of the civil government of the state, it is necessary for the safety of that government to have

the army filled with the aristocracy, and imbued with its principles.

In fact, what the aristocracy of blood did in France by privilege, the aristocracy of wealth has hitherto done in England by money; and so far from attacking the system of the army by itself, I say it must be defended and maintained as part of a whole, so long as that whole is maintained; but in God's name, let it be avowed and defended boldly, and not falsely denied or pitifully excused!

The navy is a different matter. On our navy our existence depends as a nation abroad, nor does a navy threaten our government at home. It is not necessary, therefore, for the support of an aristocracy, that the navy should be aristocratic, while it would be dangerous to the vital interests of the country, if merit were not allowed a fair encouragement in this profession. Thus the system of purchase does not exist in the navy; and for that reason the navy is less fashionable than the army, and less favoured, by the opinion of society, than in this great naval country it ought to be.

Now for the colonies. "Colonies were not *originally acquired* in order to provide situations for a particular class."

Is there any body who wanted to know this? Does any body want to know that Sir Walter Raleigh was not politely requested by Sir Ralph Winwood to go and find him a little provision for his younger children in El Dorado?

The question is not why the colonies were acquired, but to whom the colonial appointments have been given; and "at this moment," observes our author, "*if we except a few of the higher* appointments, the others are *as commonly* filled by the sons of manufacturers and merchants as by the sons of landed gentlemen."

This must be very satisfactory—"The colonies," says Mr. Macculloch, "were acquired not to provide for our aristocracy, but to extend our commerce;" and he then adds, with marvellous simplicity, "Things are just as they should be!" for to the *low* situations in those colonies, *especially acquired for the purposes of commerce*, the sons of merchants are actually admitted on the *same* footing as if they had nothing to do with

commerce; and it is only from the *high* situations *in our commercial colonies that our commercial men are excluded!*

But Mr. Macculloch's argument is not at an end—

"Supposing that the existing outlets for the latter (sons of manufacturers, merchants, etc.) in the army and navy and church, *are* narrowed, it will merely oblige a greater number of them to enter upon the more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures, which (by parenthesis) "would be much better for them."

What a pity Mr. Macculloch had not flourished in France half a century ago! how satisfactorily he would have proved to the *Tiers-état*, that never were men so wrong in their lives as the people of this class—while they grumbled at not being admitted into the army or honoured by the court.—A cause for complaint—good heavens! It was the greatest blessing that could befall them—it was a custom intended expressly for their happiness and advantage—for it merely *obliged* them—unreasonable men! to enter upon the "more lucrative pursuits of commerce and manufactures." How rich, how happy, how commercial and how manufacturing France ought to have been at that time!—

Woe then unto you, my countrymen, who think there is any object in the world worth the toil after, and the possession of, lucre! woe unto you who look with emulation on the wreath, yet green, which decks the brows of the Duke of Wellington! which hangs unfaded on the tomb of Lord Nelson! woe unto you who feel inspired by the reputation of a Byron and a Scott, of a Herschell and a Babbage—who sigh after the vales of poesy, or who would climb the mountains of science! Woe unto you whose pleasure and whose ambition are not wholly concentrated in the acquisition of wealth—whose thoughts take a range beyond the dingy purlieus of yonder dark and fog-breathing alley—woe unto you! if money do not make your felicity, it *ought to do* so—riches and the pursuits of riches are all that should pamper your heart or dazzle your imagination!

Happiness is only to be found on one road, and there is

the commentary on Dr. Smith's Essays—by way of a sign post!

It is with these general reflections that Mr. Macculloch commences his observations on the present state of property *in France*.

Whatever may be my own opinion on the law of primogeniture, I confess, with a proper portion of respect for one who is my superior in age and reputation, that the cause does not seem to me to have gained very considerably hitherto, by its—GREAT DEFENDER.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Macculloch's Contradictions—Assertions—Authorities.

Now, there are two contending sentiments to which, as I pursue my subject, I am more and more disagreeably exposed.

"Consideration for a person whose talents I acknowledge; consideration for the truth, which I believe the reputation of those talents has greatly tended to obscure."

The last sentiment is, I confess, the strongest; and thus I venture, deferentially, to display some of the singular contradictions, and to repeat some of the singular statements, which the distinguished author whom I have just alluded to has published, in respect to the disposition of property in the country of which I am treating—published with a carelessness it is difficult to account for, and a confidence it becomes legitimate to imitate.

CONTRADICTIONS, p. 462.

"The strong predelíction entertained by the great bulk of the children of persons engaged in the business of agriculture, for the pursuits of their fathers, has been remarked by every one in any degree connected with rural affairs; and it is obvious that the existence of a law compelling every father to divide his estate equally among his children, must afford the greatest facilities for gratifying this natural inclination."

From this you would conclude, that the prevailing passion in France would be for the acquisition of land, which is actually the case.

But mark, page 467 :

The rule established by the existing French law—(this rule, which was to give such a vent to the natural desire *to possess land*,)—*will naturally induce the greater number to amass monied fortunes in preference to land !*"*

P. 466.—One quotation from Mr. Birkbeck says, " that the people in the towns, as in the country, are growing poorer and poorer—that both are alike rather retrograding than progressing." The very next quotation from M. Laffitte, p. 469, draws a marked distinction between the people of the towns and the country, and says that the people of the towns are all that they should be for the time at which they live.

" The people in the towns are rather retrogade than progressive."—*Birkbeck.*

" The manufacturer of our towns is as much at his ease, as industrious, and as able, as a man of the times ought to be." — *Laffitte.*

M. Laffitte's assertion, in respect to towns, annihilates Mr. Birkbeck's : but M. Laffitte's assertion in respect to the country, quoted p. 467, as an excellent authority, is pretty well contradicted by Mr. Maculloch himself, p. 465. These are the two sentences :—

" Our agriculture is as poor, as ignorant, as in the days of feudality."—*M. Laffitte.*

" That the condition of the agriculturists of France has, on the whole, considerably improved since the revolution (1789), *seems certain !*"

It is only by contradictions that we could be prepared for the statements which follow, and which really seem selected for the purpose of startling all belief.

* Mr. Macculloch may say that these two sentences apply differently; that in the one case he alludes to the passion of the son, which will be to cultivate land; in the other, to the desire of the father, which will be to save money.

But if a man is a father at the close of his career, he is also very frequently a father at the commencement of it.

Either, then, the desire to save money for his children, will influence his choice of life, or the desire to possess land will affect his saving money for his children.

1st. "The effect of the present law fills, and will fill, the country with a wretched population, *destitute of the desire of rising in the world.*"

2nd. "It is said by the admirers of the French law of succession, that it has introduced peace into families; that the insolent prerogative of primogeniture being abolished, the children look upon each other as brothers, and entertain the warmest affection for their parents. "*In point of fact, however, it has had a precisely opposite effect.*"

Now, I will ask any Frenchman, Carlist, Louis-Philippist, or Republican, whether two statements more contrary to fact could be made than the two I have quoted?

What!

"The French destitute of the desire of rising in the world!"

Even M. Giron, in his very able publication from which Mr. Macculloch, though he does not allude to this authority, would seem to have borrowed some of his arguments and opinions—even M. Giron, in his very able publication *against* the division of property, says—"Cela fait que chacun veut vivre comme il a vecu chez son père:" * a fair, though not, perhaps, an excessive stimulus to industry! but without quoting authorities, which on this point would be innumerable, I beg any one to go into a village in France; what will he see there?—the peasant devoted to the hope of purchasing a piece of land, or extending that which he possesses.

Into a town of France—what object meets his eyes? The young adventurer packing up his small bundle, and starting, for Paris, where he hopes to be minister, as Thiers; or marshal, as Lannes; or first consul, as Bonaparte.

Where is the man who goes to the *bureau de la guerre*, and hears of the crowds of volunteers, sixty thousand on one occasion, rushing, to the standard of France on the slightest whisper of its being unfurled.

Where is the man who goes to Paris, and converses with one of the three hundred and forty high public functionaries—with one of the four hundred and ninety persons in the law—with one of the one thousand one hundred and forty members of the Institute and the University—with one of the eighteen thousand four hundred and sixty clerks—with one of the nineteen thousand soldiers—with one of the forty-seven thousand stu-

* Every one wishes to live as he has lived with his father.

dents; ay, and I will even say, with one of the two hundred and ninety thousand of the working classes in that metropolis, —where is the man, who has ever spoken to any of the persons, forming these vast bodies of active and enterprizing men, who will tell you that the evil from which France at present suffers is, a carelessness to rise in the world; an indifference to any kind of distinction?

And now for the peace and affection which the present law has introduced into families! I will merely say, that one of the effects of this law has been actually a change in the French language. The father formerly said "thou" to his son as he did his servant; the son now uses the singular pronoun to his father as he does to his friend.

To any one who knows the force of the singular pronoun in French, the example I give will be sufficient proof of the assertion I fearlessly make;—viz. that the most remarkable change *has taken place* since the revolution of 1789, in family intercourse and friendship. Even while I have been writing these pages, numerous instances have occurred within the circle in which I have been living, of that good will between brothers, which arises from their equality, and that filial confidence, and affectionate familiarity, between parents and their children, which, spring naturally from mutual independence. *

Thus, I have ventured to show some of the contradictions, and to contradict some of the statements, of Mr. Macculloch. I now approach his authorities.

And first, in respect to authorities—when we quote writers, (the writers of another country more especially), it seems to me, that we should observe certain rules—for instance:

We should state the character and weight of the persons from whom we quote.

We should make some allusion to the fact of other writers, of equal character and weight (if such be the case), being of a contrary opinion.

We should cite no work partially, so as to give an idea that

* In some departments, in the department of la Corrèze for instance, where the custom of favouring the eldest child prevails, the greatest difference is remarkable in the manners of the inhabitants; and feuds are even perpetuated from brothers to their descendants.

its author is more favourable to our own opinion than he really is.

Now, in none of these respects do I find Mr. Macculloch so fair and candid as a person of his weight and respectability ought to be.

The principal authorities he cites, are:

M. Rainville, secretary to M. de Villèle, a protégé of the Jesuits, and anxious to bring back the old system.

M. de Bonald, a man indeed of ability, but a royal and religious enthusiast.

M. Laffite, who I think would be found not hostile to the French law of succession, though he may find fault with the backwardness of French agriculture.

The Duc de la Rochefoucault, who rather blames the madness with which land was seized, in the smallest divisions, at a particular period (the revolution of 89), than the general system of dividing property by bequest under ordinary circumstances.

But give these authorities all the weight you can desire—are there no authorities which counterbalance them?

Monsieur Roy, » de Molé, » Decazes, » Pasquier, » de Talleyrand,*	The most practical, most moderate, and able statesmen in France.

Then Messieurs de Morel Vendé, Charles Dupin, † Loriol, and a long list of others, who, to use Mr. Macculloch's expression, "might be multiplied to any extent." Are not these more important, as French authorities, in favour of the law of division than any that have been cited against it?

There remain Mr. Birkbeck and Mr. Young, English authorities. Mr. Birkbeck's pamphlet is a very curious one, and

* See the speech of Mirabeau that he read in the National Assembly against substitutions.

† La division des propriétés qui s'est opérée sur tous les points du territoire, a produit une aisance plus uniformément répandue; elle a donné des moyens de bien-être et de santé à beaucoup de familles qui n'en jouissaient point dans une époque antérieure. D'un autre côté *les progrès* de l'industrie ont procuré du travail à beaucoup d'ouvriers."

P. 43.—Forces Productives et Commerciales.

So again—En contemplant les immenses progrès que la France a fait en agriculture. P. xv. Introduction.

resembles greatly Mr. Cobbett's; and now I must notice Mr. Macculloch's first and principal quotation! He cites a long passage *in proof of the wretched condition of the French*, from pages 34 and 35. At the end of this passage he stops. But is the sentence stopped? No!—the immediate words that follow are, *yet they (the French) seem happier than we are.*"

And then continuing, "being much on a level among themselves, and possessing *enough* to supply their temperate wants, *they* feel no degradation. We spend our lives in *painful* endeavours to advance ourselves and our children; having no means of improving their condition, they submit to necessity, and spend their lives contentedly."

I do not accept Mr. Birkbeck's opinion as a decisive one;—his pamphlet, though able, contains many contradictions, but I say, "Ought any one, quoting one sentence, in proof of the French people being *miserable*, to leave out the next sentence, which says that they are *happy?*" If a people are morally happier by being materially poorer, (the case as stated by Mr. Birkbeck,) it is as interesting to the statesman and the legislator to know that this people is happy, as it is to know that this people is poor.

But I just wish persons to see what kind of authority Mr. Birkbeck is, for "the prominent evils in the social condition of the people of France."

At the very entrance of this gentleman into France, he exclaims at once, p. 5, "*There is more appearance of enjoyment and less of positive suffering than I ever beheld before, or had any conception of.*

P. II.—"Every object denotes prosperity and comfort. Since I entered the country, I have been looking in all directions for the ruins of France; for the horrible effects of the revolution, of which so much is said on our side of the water; but instead of a ruined country, I see *fields highly cultivated* and towns full of inhabitants.

"No houses tumbling down or empty—no ragged, wretched-looking people!

"I have inquired, and every body assures me, that agriculture has been *improving rapidly* for the last twenty-five years;

that the riches and comforts of the cultivators of the soil have *been doubled* since that period; and that vast improvement has taken place in the condition and character of the common people. On my *first* landing, I was struck with the respectable appearance of the working class; I see the same marks of comfort and plenty *wherever I proceed.* I ask for the wretched peasantry, of whom I have heard and read so much; but I am always referred to the revolution; it seems they vanished *then.*"

Again—p. 22.

"The labouring class, here is certain *much higher on* the social scale than *with us.* Every opportunity of collecting information on this subject, confirms my first impression that there are very few really poor people in France. In England, a poor man and a labourer are synonymous terms; we speak familiarly of *the poor*, meaning *the labouring class;* not so here."

But you will say, "Mr. Birkbeck's evidence may still be against the division of property, and he may attribute this prosperity to some other evident cause." Just hearken to the sentence following that I have just quoted!

"I have now learnt enough to explain this difference; and having received the *same information* from EVERY *quarter*, there is *no* reason to doubt its correctness."

"The national domains, consisting of the confiscated estates of the church, and the emigrant nobility, were exposed to sale during the pecuniary distresses of the revolutionary government, *in small portions*, for the accommodation of the *lowest orders* of purchasers, and five years allowed for completing the payment. This indulgence, joined to the depreciation of assignats, enabled the *poorest description of persons* to become *proprietors*, and such they are *almost universally;* possessing from one to ten acres.*

"And as the education of the poor was sedulously promoted during the early years of the revolution, their great advance in character, as well as *condition*, is *no mystery.*"

* It will be seen that here there is another contradiction in Mr. Macculloch's authorities:

Mr. Birkbeck gives the very state of things which followed the revolution of 89 (which the Duc de la Rochefoucault spoke of as an evil), as an advantage.

P. 30.—From St. Pierre to Moulins—the lower classes appear *less* comfortable; an old enclosed country, which probably furnished *no small allotments* for the *poor*, on the sale of the national domains.

"I find, as I suspected *from their appearance*, that *few* of the peasantry here are *proprietors*."

P. 51. Montpellier.

"From Dieppe to this place, we have seen scarcely a working animal whose condition was not excellent. Oxen, horses, and now mules and asses, fat and well-looking, but not pampered. This looks like *prosperity*. And when I add that we have not seen, among the labouring people, *one* such famished, worn-out, wretched object, as may be met with in *every parish* of England, I had almost said in *every* farm; this, in a country so populous, so entirely agricultural, denotes *real prosperity*. Again, from Dieppe to this place, I could not easily point out an acre of waste, a spot of land that is not *industriously* cultivated, though not *always* well, *according to our notions*." *

Will any one believe that this is the writer whom Mr. Macculloch cites in an isolated passage as an authority for "the prominent evils in the social condition of France?" †

I proceed to the other English author, on whose opinions we are told to rely.

"France is threatened to be overpowered, not only with a redundant, but with a potatoe-feeding population," (p. 480); "by persevering in this system (the division of property), it

* "France, so peopled, *so cultivated*, moderately taxed, without paper money, without tithes, without poor-rates, almost *without* poor; with excellent roads in every direction, and overflowing with corn, and wine, and oil, *must* be and *really* is a *rich* country. *Yet there are few rich individually.*"

† There is, however, in the Appendix to the Second Edition of Mr. Birkbeck's work, a violent attack upon the abominable regulation of descents, on account of the manner in which it will affect the *next* generation; but not a word in proof of this; nor does it once strike him in his practical observations previously; it comes as an after suggestion from a correspondent—perhaps Mr. Macculloch himself. But Mr. Birkbeck has here gone upon the vulgar idea, that property will go on, under the French law, indefinitely dividing. I shall show that such is not the case presently. But what Mr. Macculloch maintains is, that at the time Mr. Birkbeck wrote, the Division of Property had been baleful. He quotes Mr. Birkbeck to prove this, and the whole of Mr. Birkbeck's book, with the exception of one passage, is notoriously against it.

will soon exceed the populousness of China, where the putrid carcasses of dogs, cats, rats, and every species of vermin and filth, are sought after with avidity, to sustain the wretches born only to be starved."

Alas!—for a long time the poor Frenchman has been painted with a frog on his plate—but now he is to eat *all kinds* of filth and vermin!

Is it any consolation to know that this was prognosticated by Mr. Young, upwards of forty years ago? That the system of which he complained, a system which had immemorially prevailed in many parts of France without quite producing those disastrous effects, has not only been persevered in, but enlarged upon since the prophecy was announced. Is this any consolation?

Mr. Macculloch answers, "No!—if such was Mr. Young's opinions in 1789—how much more reason would he have for coming to such a conclusion now, when almost all the large estates, then existing in the country, have been broken up, and the succession of small patches generally regulated by law."

Is Mr. Macculloch right?*

There was a philosopher who once predicted that if a comet, which was then making its appearance, were to continue visible for three weeks, it would destroy the world; the philosopher died, and the comet continued visible for six weeks instead of three, and the world was not burnt. The people, who are ignorant, said, "if the philosopher were alive, he would see he had been mistaken." "Mistaken," said another philosopher, the defunct's friend, "my friend predicted that the world would be destroyed if the comet lasted three weeks, how much more reason would he have to declare that the world

* Suppose, reader, that you lay it down as a principle that any cause will produce the most deplorable effects. Suppose that cause develops and extends itself prodigiously, and that it produces none of the effects predicted—does it not seem as clear, as that Scotland is on the north side of the Tweed, that your cause having increased, and none of your effects having been produced, that you have greatly exaggerated the influence of your cause?

If the people of France, instead of eating filth and vermin in 1834, live much better than they did in 1789, and that the land (the terrible division of which was to have driven them to such extremity) has been still more divided, would you, a gloomy prophet in 1789, have been confirmed or shaken in your predictions in 1834?

would be destroyed now, when the comet has lasted six weeks!"

CHAPTER XIII.

How far Property is likely to go on Dividing—What the Law respecting the Division of Property in France is—Table of Properties subjected to the Land-tax—Checks to Division.

Although Mr. Birkbeck and others have seen no especial evils from the division of property in France, as it exists at present, many, and Mr. Birkbeck among the number, have imagined that enormous evils must necessarily ensue; and this, from falling into the vulgar belief, that land will go on subdividing *ad infinitum*, because the law favours its division. The extent to which the division of land will be carried is probably the most important part of the subject under our consideration.

Now, there are two mistakes, which, in reasoning on the conduct of mankind, we are equally liable to commit.

"Men are wholly governed by their interest," say some.—Exaggeration!

"Men are not governed by their interests, but by their passions," say others.—Exaggeration!

Men are partly governed by their passions, partly by their interests.—The course which they take is usually a compromise between the two.

"Où il aura bénéfice à diviser les terres, le morcellement aura lieu, toutefois jusqu'au point *seulement* où son excès donnerait de la perte; et là où il y aura avantage à ne point diviser, ou même à accroître la propriété, la conservation ou l'agglomération se pratiqueront, *et cela tant qu'il y aura bénéfice à le faire.*"*—*M. de Morel Vendé.*

* "Where there is an advantage in dividing land, the division will take place: only, however, to that point where its excess will occasion loss; and there, where it will be advantageous not to divide or even to increase a property, the conservation or the agglomeration will take place."

This is a charming theory; but rather too charming to be precisely true.

"Le morcellement des terres croît en raison géométrique: chez les petits propriétaires, ce mal se fait sentir à la première génération: chacun cependant reste attaché à sa petite fraction de propriété, et se tourmente pour en tirer une chétive subsistance qu'il aurait gagnée avec moins de peine et plus de profit dans une autre profession. Il meurt jeune,* et ne pouvant vivre, lui et ses enfans de sa propriété, il ravage celle de ses voisins."†—*M. de Bonald.*

This is a most deplorable picture, which would undoubtedly be correct, if men were wholly indifferent to existence, and the comforts of existence, and likely to submit to hard labour, starvation, and early death, when, by a change of system, they could support themselves happily alive to a good old age.

Property will not cease being divided, just at the moment most advantageous to the pecuniary interest of the proprietor —because he is proud of the possession of property; neither will it go on dividing to an infinite extent—because he is sensible to the necessities of life.

Where the law favours the division of landed property, it will be divided perhaps more than it ought to be; but where the law favours the agglomeration of land, it will also be agglomerated more than it ought to be. No system is perfect.

There is, however, this difference between the two systems: —in one case the small proprietor is at once *obliged to abandon* his estate when it ceases to provide for his subsistence; in the other, the great proprietor is *only warned to decrease* his estate, when his profits diminish.

But let us see what the French law, affecting the disposal of property, really is.

After a parent's death, the property of that parent is to be equally divided among the children, with this exception—that

* His life is increased by at least seven years since the last half century.

† "The division of land increases in geometrical progression. Among the small proprietors, the evil is felt at the first generation; every one, however, remains attached to his little fraction of land, and torments himself in order to derive from it a scanty subsistence, which he would have gained with less pain and more profit in another profession. He dies young, and not being able to live on his own property, despoils that of his neighbours."

the parent has a right to leave a *part d'enfant* (*i. e.* a child's share) to any child, over and above the portion which would come to that child from equal partition. For instance, if a man has five children, he may leave a fifth to the one he prefers; if three children, a third; if two, a double portion.

The effects of this law, are:

1st. To make the child independent of his father's aversion, but expectant from his father's love.

2ndly. To make the parent depend, for the extent of his power, on the extent of his family; and as the greatness of the one is measured by the smallness of the other, a powerful check is created to an overabundant population.

Thus, the same law which provides for the support of the child, provides also for the authority of the father; and, while it tends to the division of property, contains a principle intended for its limitation. Nor is this all; exactly as the authority of the father requires strengthening, the limit to the division of property becomes more strong.

We see then that the law of France possesses, even in its letter, a notable provision against the mischiefs which it is conceived likely to produce. But it is not only in the letter of a law that we are to look for its effects—*the spirit* of a law, which *diffuses property*, is to give a desire to *increase*, and to *retain property*.

The pauper and the beggar have no restraint put upon their passions, and they propagate their species with the recklessness of men who have no hope in the future, and only one present pleasure to enjoy. The peasant, who has a small piece of land, lives under the increasing desire to preserve, to increase, and to transmit that land. He receives four acres from his father, he toils unceasingly till he can acquire eight, and it is not often that he increases his family beyond the ratio at which his property has increased.

The increase of population in France has not only been less than the increase of population in the other great countries of Europe;* it has been less, as I have once before had occasion

* This does not quite accord with Mr. Young's prognostication.

to observe, than the increase of every other species of power and wealth in France itself.

Annual increase of population :

In Prussia.	27,027	individuals.
Great Britain.	16,667	»
Low Countries.	12,372	»
The Two Sicilies. . . .	11,211	»
Russia.	10,527	»
Austria.	10,114	»
France.	5,536	»

Ch. Dupin, p. 35.

Increase Annual, in—

Population.	$\frac{3}{4}$
Horses.	1
Sheep.	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Consumption indicated by indirect taxation	3
Ditto, by octroi.	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Operations of Industry, as by patents. .	$3\frac{2}{3}$
Circulation, as by post.	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Commerce, as by Customs.	4
Industry, as by Coal.	4
Ditto, by Iron.	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, by the Press.	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Ch. Dupin, Intr. xvii.

Besides, in the law of division resides, to a certain extent, the law of union. If the father gives a portion to his daughter, the son receives a portion with his wife, and as marriages in France are regulated, in some degree, by interest, what goes away on one side returns, in a great measure, on the other.

Among the old nobility who rescued any property from the revolution of 1789, you will usually find that property rather to have augmented than diminished, during the last twenty years.

Among the peasantry who have once obtained any fair portion of property by their toil, you will usually find, not perhaps the identical property which the father possessed, but a property equal to it in the hands of the son.

The cases where property multiplies its divisions are, where many new properties start up, from one large property being

sold. But as even in these cases, the persons who purchase land are, for the most part, those who already possess it; twenty estates are increased to ten that are created.*

There are many feelings, then, which arise from the disposal of landed property in small divisions, which are in themselves inimical to its indefinite sub-division. There are likewise circumstances directly opposed to such a system of small divisions, which tend to moderate their excess.

Any person travelling over France will observe, though the system of division may not in every identical instance be exactly regulated, as M. de Morel-Vendé supposes, by its advantages, that yet it is carried to a far greater extent in those places, and under those circumstances, where it is least calculated to be prejudicial, or most calculated to be the reverse.

As in vineyards for instance:

The quantity of land in which the vine is now cultivated . . . . . hectares 2,017,667.

The number of Proprietors . . . . 2,174,013.

Here is land in almost its extreme division—but why?

The quantity of land thus cultivated has been only increased by one quarter since 1788; the value of the produce has doubled.

"Le morcellement des terres est subordonné aux localités,"† says the Rapport des Géomètres en chef du cadastre. Thus, in some places where division is not disadvantageous, property will be exceedingly divided; so in others, where great division would be ruinous, it will not take place. Now there is a much smaller portion of France where a very minute division of pro-

* The high price which such estates, sold in small lots, produce, has led to two false conclusions. Some have quoted this price as a proof that small pieces of land produce the most to the cultivator; others, as an evidence, that all large estates will soon be sold in small lots. Estates sell for the most part in small lots, because in a country where there are only small fortunes, there can only be competition for small pieces of land.

All large estates will not be sold in small lots, because that passion for property, which will instigate the small proprietor to buy property beyond its value, induces the large proprietor to keep his property when he can get more than its value for it. Few estates are sold in France, which, for some reason or other, are not *obliged* to be sold.

† The division of lands will vary according to their situation.

perty is possible, than where a tendency to agglomeration is prescribed.

In those districts where great manufactures have raised the price of labour to such a height, that it is impossible to cultivate otherwise than by the plough—in the forests, in the great pastrages, and "landes"—in those countries where the proprietor can neither sell nor transport his crops, and is therefore obliged to create immense flocks wandering over immense plains, in order to obtain a produce which transports itself—in all these districts, forming a considerable portion of France, the necessity of great properties is instituted by a law, independent of man.

Such are many of the causes to which we must attribute what at first sight may appear a phenomenon, but which, nevertheless, is a fact, viz.—

The very slight increase in the division of the soil, notwithstanding the law seeming to favour its extreme and continued sub-division.

In 1826, when "la loi d'ainesse" was agitated in France, and an attempt made by the ministry to institute something like a system of primogeniture, it is to be remarked that the government, although pressed on all sides to present the chambers with some statistical proof of the increased division of landed property (a proof easy for them to procure, and which, for the departments adjoining Paris, they might even have procured during the time that the debate was continued), evaded the demand, and presented, instead of authentic facts, nothing but vague and desultory observations.

There was one person at that time peculiarly qualified to form a just opinion upon the subject, as well from the high ministerial situation he had lately filled, as from his peculiar attention to agricultural pursuits, and the political moderation for which he had always been distinguished. In a speech delivered 3rd April, M. Decazes gives, as the result of his own personal and practical experience, facts exceedingly different from those which would be deduced from Mr. Young's and Mr. Macculloch's theory.

"Chacun de nous pouvait, plus ou moins aisément, se procurer un travail facile pour le gouvernement, plus difficile pour les individus, non pour la

DEPARTMENTS.	In 1
1. Ain.	1
2. Aisne.	1
3. Allier.	
4. Alpes (Basses).	
5. Alpes (Hautes).	
6. Ardèche.	
7. Ardennes.	1
8. Ariége.	
9. Aube.	1
10. Aude.	
11. Aveyron.	1
12. Bouches-du-Rhône. .	
13. Calvados.	1
14. Cantal.	
15. Charente.	1
16. Charente-Inférieure.	2
17. Cher.	
18. Corrèze.	
19. Corse.	
20. Côte-d'Or.	1
21. Côtes-du-Nord. . . .	1
22. Creuse.	
23. Dordogne.	1
24. Doubs.	
25. Drôme.	
26. Eure.	1
27. Eure-et-Loir.	1
28. Finistère.	
29. Gard.	1
30. Garonne, Haute. . . .	1
31. Gers.	
32. Gironde.	1
33. Hérault.	
34. Ille-et-Vilaine. . . .	1
35. Indre.	
36. Indre-et-Loire. . . .	1
37. Isère.	1
38. Jura.	1
39. Landes.	4
40. Loir-et-Cher.	9
41. Loire.	7
42. Loire (Haute).	9
43. Loire-Inférieure. . . .	10
44. Loiret.	11
45. Lot.	10
46. Lot-et-Garonne. . . .	12

totalité de la France, mais pour un point particulier qui, une fois connu, servirait d'appréciation pour les autres.

" Je l'ai fait, Messieurs, en partie pour l'arrondissement qui m'est plus particulièrement connu, et à la prospérité duquel la reconnaissance et tous les sentimens de la nature me commandent de porter un intérêt plus spécial.

* * * * * * * * *

" A un petit nombre près, tous les habitans y sont propriétaires. L'amour de la propriété y est poussé au plus haut degré : chez les pères comme chez les enfans ; chez les riches comme chez les pauvres, elle est le sentiment et le besoin dominant.

* * * * * * * * *

" Le partage égal des successions y est la règle la plus commune, et la plus générale ; là, comme dans la majorité des autres arrondissemens de France, les personnes aisées y disposent rarement de la portion disponible. Les exemples en sont si peu fréquens, que je n'en sais pas un seul autour de moi, dans aucune classe de la société, les paysans exceptés ; et pour ceux-ci, ce n'est pas du préciput entier qu'ils disposent lorsqu'ils le font, mais de telle ou telle pièce de terre, de telle ou telle quotité de leur succession ; non par *préférence habituelle*, au profit de leur aîné, mais le plus souvent *par reconnaissance* pour celui de leurs enfans qui est resté auprès d'eux, qui a partagé leurs travaux, *qui a soigné leur vieillesse*.

" Eh bien ! dans cet arrondissement" (where the division was most likely to have been excessive), " *loin qu'il y ait eu morcellement* dans les douze années qui viennent de s'écouler, *il y a eu agglomération*.

En 1815, le nombre des rôles s'élevait à quarante-deux mille et quelques cents ; en 1825, par une diminution annuelle et successive, ce chiffre se réduit à près de quarante mille ; de sorte que l'agglomération en dix ans a été de deux mille côtes environ, ou de deux quarantièmes.

" Je ne prétends pas qu'il en ait été ainsi dans tous les arrondissemens du royaume ; cependant les autres renseignemens isolés, que quelques-uns de nos collègues ont eu la bonté de me fournir, sont loin d'être contraires à l'exemple que je viens de citer." *

If I merely wished to have the best of the argument over Mr. Macculloch, I would now quote his own statement, viz. "that in 1816, there were 10,414,121 taxable properties; and subjoin, on the authorities of various publicists, the calculation that in 1830 there were about 10,000,200 of such properties.

In the analysis, printed at the beginning of this work, I did give such a calculation derived from the best sources then at my command; but owing to the kindness of the French ministry of Finance, I have since been able to procure a very valuable

* See Appendix for translation.

statement of the changes which have taken place at three different epochs in each department.

The annexed table then gives, undoubtedly, a continued increase in the division of land, but it is a very small increase, and such as might be effectually and easily counteracted.

And here we should carefully distinguish between the equal succession of property, which it is impossible—whatever its merits or defects—for the government in France to change, and the system of unnecessarily cutting and clipping up properties, which it is not only possible, but necessary, for the government to alter.

P. dies, leaving six fields and three children. Is it necessary, in order that P.'s children should be equally provided for, that each of P.'s fields, as it now frequently happens, should be equally cut up?* Certainly not.

This is a case in which the law might safely interfere, and check a subdivision of the soil, which can only be disadvantageous, without affecting the division of fortunes, which is accompanied by many advantages.

Besides, a wise remission of the stamp duty on such deeds as were required for the consolidation of small properties, would, of itself, tend greatly to destroy those extraordinary cases of subdivision, which sometimes exist from the law exacting more on the sale of a patch of ground than it is worth to the purchaser.

Again, many of the evils to be complained of at present seem likely to decrease, not only from the enlargement of estates, if estates enlarge; but from other causes, if the division of land remain, as I believe it will do, much what it is.

As the peasant becomes more intelligent, he will better understand the nature of his property, and the force of his means. Instead of widening the enclosure of his field, he will deepen the richness of its surface, and if he is sometimes, at present, rather induced to add to his little spot of ground than to improve it, in proportion to the extent of his error will be

* "Dans les Basses Pyrénées on arrange facilement les partages, et il y a peu de morcellement.—*Dépt. du Var.*

Le morcellement est créé par le désir de chacun d'avoir une pièce de chaque espèce de terre."—*Rapport des Géomètres en chef du cadastre.*

the beneficial result of his experience. Moreover, the experiments which individuals are incapable of attempting, it is the duty, and will probably be the object, of the public administration to undertake.

At present there are two experimental farms supported by the government with this intention, and the number should be so increased as to apply to the different variations of soil, climate, and vegetation.

Let us take, then, all these circumstances into consideration: —The small increase in the number of properties, during the last thirty years, under every circumstance most favourable to their increase—The possibility of checking such increase by easy and paternal legislation, which would not affect the existing law of succession—The circumstances which, if the division of land remain as it is, or were even to progress, would diminish the evils attendant upon it.

Let us take, I say, all these circumstances into consideration, and I think we shall allow, that whatever may be the evil naturally resulting from the anti-primogenital law of France, it is not likely to be greater twenty years hence than it is at the moment at which I am now writing.

CHAPTER XIV.

It is the present state of France that we have to consider without fears for the future, in respect to this question—Folly of comparisons between France and England, and France and Ireland—A small Lessee different from a small Proprietor—A bad system of agriculture made, by energy, a good one —More persons occupied on Land by its Division than there need be—Population made more agricultural—Manufacturing Populations considered —Difference between the course to be pursued in England, and advice to be given to France.

It is, then, the present state of prosperity in France that we have to consider, with a judgment no longer under the influence of that terrible hobgoblin of indefinite subdivision by which we have been perpetually alarmed as to the future.

Those who contend against the existing state of property in that country, begin by telling you that in England landed property is agglomerated; in France landed property is divided; —that England is better cultivated than France, and that therefore the agglomeration of landed property is better for agriculture than the division.

I need hardly say, that it is impossible to derive any accurate result from a mere comparison between England and France.

The more extensive a country is, the more variety it admits in language, character, and habits: the more it is deprived of natural and artificial communications, the less likely is it to adopt and circulate improvements.

" Quand j'habitais les ports de la Flandre," says M. Charles Dupin, " et surtout ceux de la Provence, j'étais toujours étonné d'entendre des gens du pays distinguer les hommes nés au centre de la France, en les appelant des Françiots, et les traiter en étrangers. * * * * * * * * * Lorsqu'en 1825, 1826, je me suis occupé de procurer, à la classe ouvrière de nos départemens, les plus simple élemens des sciences appliquées aux arts, je suis tombé dans un étonnement dont j'ai peine encore à revenir, en voyant que, sur tous les points de nos immense frontières, à Bayonne ainsi qu'à Dunkerque, à Strasbourg ainsi qu'à Quimper, à Montpellier ainsi qu'à Mulhouse, l'un des obstacles les plus grands que les professeurs avaient rencontrés s'est trouvé dans la difficulté de faire entendre le langage expressif et correct de la langue française à des hommes qui ne *pensent* couramment qu'avec le secours d'idiomes étrangers ou de patois barbares." *

France is more extensive than England, admits more varieties in language, character, and habits, is less amalgamated by natural and artificial communications; it is consequently less likely to adopt and circulate improvements. Whatever difference, therefore, exists between the agricultural state of England and France, it is absurd to attribute the whole of that difference to the different system of succession in the two countries.

* See Appendix for translation.

Besides, when we speak of the different state of agriculture in England and France, we must not forget that agriculture has been encouraged, in the first, by an immense premium, more especially during the war; and that it has moreover owed much to the habits of speculation and expenditure springing from an extensive commerce, which, though not entirely independent of our law of inheritance, are certainly not incorporate with it.

But, if a comparison between England and France is of little value, a comparison between England and Ireland is still more absurd. Poor Ireland! if any body wants to show that this or that is pernicious to a state, away he speeds to you for an example.

"See what Catholicism produces," says the Protestant;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what an established church produces," says the dissenter;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what a centralized legislation produces," says the repealer;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what the want of a provision against mendicity produces," says the poor-law-system-man;—"look at—Ireland!"

"See what a division of land produces," says Mr. Macculloch;—"look at—Ireland!"

Unhappy monopolist of misfortune—too true is it—my poor sister country, that we may always turn to you for a calamity!

But alas! if we wish for admonition, let us look for it, not in any part of your condition, but the whole. The slightest scratch becomes a gangrene, when the blood of all the body is corrupt: and it is ridiculous to talk of the effects of one mischief in a state of society, which is travailed by every mischief under the sun.

What system of agriculture, I should like to know, would flourish in a nation planted by hostile races, and severed by contending creeds; amongst a people perpetually engaged in plots and pillage? If the same system of agriculture prevailed in France and in Ireland, the effects of the system would be different, as in every other respect the two countries differ. But the same system does not prevail, and never did prevail.

A small lessee is not the same person as a small proprietor; the system of subdivided leases has all the evils, and none of the advantages, of a system of subdivided properties. There is a charm in the word "own" which awakens all our prudence, and stimulates all our exertions.

Let us have no comparisons, then, between France and England, or Ireland and France.

There are reasons of themselves sufficient, not that agriculture should deteriorate, but that it should not improve so much as it otherwise might do, under the law of inheritance established and popular in France.

The more property is divided, the more space is occupied by inclosures; the more property is divided, the more space is occupied by paths and roads, by which the different parcels of land are to be approached; the more property is divided, the less liberty exists in respect to crops; you must plant at the same time as your neighbours, for you cannot traverse his ground after his crop is sown; the more property is divided, the less means are afforded for accelerating production by cattle and machines; the more property is divided, the less chance is there of any person being able to indulge in those speculations, by which, if the fortune of the individual be sometimes injured, the industry of the country is almost always improved.

These are general facts composing a theory, which as a theory it would be very difficult to refute; but does it realize the expectations it should give rise to—in the case before us?

According to this theory, wherever there is a very large property, land ought to be much better cultivated than it is upon a very small one—and yet—make the comparison in France, and you will generally find—as I have said is the case in Normandy—that the very small property is, to say the least, as well cultivated as the very large one.

According to this theory, the more the soil of France has been divided, the worse the soil of France ought to be cultivated, and yet with the division of the soil in France, has advanced the art of cultivation.*

* "L'aisance est beaucoup plus grande dans toutes les classes, les consom-

It is not that the division of property itself is favourable to the cultivation of land, but that it is, and has been, accompanied by circumstances more than sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantages likely to proceed from it.

In the first place, we must not forget that, with the distinction of a great landed aristocracy, was destroyed, beyond the possibility of revival, all those feudal privileges and disastrous imposts under which France, before the revolution, was weighed down.

In the second, we must remember that every thing in a country is affected by the presiding spirit of a country;—the individual receives a magnetic force from the impulse that is affecting the community. *In a democracy of property, the poor proprietor has an energy which the great proprietor wants.*

Among any people, this would be the case; but particularly among the French; for among the French the division of property has given, to an old and powerful passion, a new and profitable vent.

Through the dark streets of Paris rattled the emblazoned coach, and along the broad road to Versailles, behold! the splendidly liveried and the gaily caparisoned equipages of the embroidered and brocaded court!

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How was the vanity of the great proprietor displayed? in the wanton and extravagant expenditure of his property! How is the vanity of the small landed proprietor displayed? in the daily and difficult accumulation of his property! The law of equal succession may not have created a new sentiment, but it has engaged, I repeat, an ancient one in a new direction. The small proprietor, in defiance of many rules which condemn him to increasing poverty, struggles on to increasing wealth; his land, which should be badly cultivated, is well cultivated, because it is cultivated with passion. If he ought not to be able to manure it, he does manure it, because he dreams, he

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mations se sont accrues dans une plus grande proportion que la population." —*M. Dombasle.*

lives, he breathes for it; because he collects every little bit of dung, and turns every little bit of bone to advantage. He rises at four o'clock to cultivate his own strip of ground, when he would not rise till six to cultivate the ground of a master. All his energies are developed in a bad system of agriculture, and thus it becomes a good one.

I do not mean to say that France is so well cultivated as England—it is not even so well cultivated as it might be—still it is far better cultivated than any mere agricultural theory would induce us to suppose.

"But by the division of the land more persons are occupied on it than are necessary for its cultivation."

I grant it:—an estate in the possession of one proprietor may be properly farmed by ten persons; but if this estate were divided into fifteen properties, it would occupy fifteen persons, and not be better cultivated either.—The labour of five persons, then is lost.

The population does not produce as much as it might do—this is the fault!

A beggar was taken up the other day as a vagabond. "How do you gain your livelihood?" said the magistrate; "By epilepsy, please your honour," said the beggar.

There are countries which live in the same manner; which draw their power, their riches, their force from the convulsions into which they are thrown by a peculiar constitution.

The disease is profitable; but it is still a disease.

The greater the amount of the population in every country, which depends wholly for existence upon the labour it does for others, the greater struggle will there be among that population to sustain an uncertain existence; and the greater effort the country will make in every industry by which capital is to be increased, and labour employed.

A people in this situation will become more energetic—more enterprising—more productive—more restless—more laborious—yet, dark by the side of the picture which exhibits the riches and activity, will come forth the table that displays the crimes and the misery of the population; and the legislator will find that he has not merely to consider how a nation may be

made most wealthy, but how the pursuit of wealth may be made most accordant with morality, and its distribution most compatible with enjoyment.

If it were only necessary to consider the riches of a country, in order to consult the prosperity of a people, what would be the case?

The revenue of England is about 550 millions. The revenue of France 320 millions.

The revenue of England then is, in respect to its population, double the revenue of France;—but will any one pretend to say that the great mass of the people are twice as well off?

Turn to M. Villeneuve's calculation!

One *twentieth* of the population (*i. e.* 1,600,000 in 32,000,000) he reckons as "*poor*," in France.

One *sixth* of the population (*i. e.* 3,900,000 in 23,400,000) as poor, in England!!!

Has this pauperism been diminishing?

From official tables laid before the House of Commons, it appears.

1801,	Population of England,	8,331,434
1831,	ditto	13,009,338

i. e. the population increased about one-third.

But during this time there has taken place a great difference in the value of money, and there has also been a reduction of taxation in many of the common articles of subsistence.

Prices in March, 1814, and in March, 1834.

	per lb.		*per lb.*
Moist Sugar. . .	15*d.*	»	$7\frac{1}{2}$*d.*
Candles. . . .	15	»	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Pork.	15	»	7
Soap.	15	»	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Butter.	18	»	12
Cheese.	10	»	8
Lard.	13	»	8
Salt, per bushel. .	21*s.*	»	2*s.* 9*d.*

Moreover, we must note an extraordinary improvement, especially of late years, that every one practically acquainted

with the subject will allow—in the administrative economy of the poor. If then pauperism had increased in an equal ratio with population (i. e. by a third), the same sum which was applied to it in 1801 would more than suffice in 1831.

Is this so?—

1801, ...	3,869,504
1831, ...	6,509,466

Pauperism, then, instead of costing nearly as much as in 1801, costs nearly double, and has consequently increased in a ratio of 2 to 1 faster than population. But at the very time that the poverty of the country has been making this frightful advance, its riches have been increasing in an equal degree. The exportation of manufactured goods,

In 1803, ...	£ 22,252,102
1831, ...	60,090,123

"Ay," I may be told—"the poverty has been increasing in one part of the country, and the riches in the other."

Let us see! we will first take the three most important commercial and manufacturing districts, in two of which wealth has more than quadrupled within the thirty years I have been referring to,—has poverty decreased?

	Poor rates.
In Lancashire:	
In 1801, the poor rates amounted to	£ 148,282
1831, ...	293,226
In Middlesex:	
In 1801, ...	349,200
1831, ...	681,567
In Nottinghamshire:	
In 1801, ...	44,220
1831, ...	72,717

Now let us turn to the agricultural districts! The agriculture of England is more advanced than the agriculture of France, and the more perfect agricultural system employs a smaller number of hands than the less perfect one.

And what is the state of the agricultural population in Eng-

land? What is their state in Norfolk, where agriculture is, perhaps, brought to the greatest perfection? I could appeal to an able pamphlet, written by a practical man,* which declares, that unless extensive alteration take place, the utter annihilation of all property will be the consequence of the accumulation of useless poverty.

But if I follow the same test I have hitherto adopted, a test which, though not perfectly accurate, is sufficiently so to justify the line of argument I am pursuing. If I follow this test in three agricultural counties—

The poor rates were,	1801.	1831.
Norfolk, .	£.169,733	299,357
Essex, .	137,140	272,593
Kent,† .	206,508	345,512

Increase *of crime in* these six counties:

	1620.	1831.
Lancashire, .	1,963	2,352
Middlesex, .	2,773	3,514
Nottingham, .	251	316
Norfolk, .	382	549
Essex, .	269	607
Kent, .	520	640

Looking then at those counties where, in two different lines, the principle of producing most by the smallest quantity of labour has been carried to its greatest perfection—the experiment, as far as the happiness and virtues of the people are concerned, does not seem to have been completely successful.

But one of the great objections to the division of landed property is, that it swells the amount of the agricultural population.

"It should be remembered," says Mr. Macculloch, mournfully, "that the possession of a small piece of ground gives a

* Mr. Richardson, of Heydon.

† Increase of population in

	1801.	1831.
Nottingham, ...	140,350	225,320
Lancashire, ...	672,731	1,336,854
Middlesex, ...	818,129	1,356,541
Norfolk, ...	169,733	299,357
Essex, ...	137,149	272,593
Kent, ...	206,508	345,512

feeling of independence to a small capitalist and a poor man, which he cannot otherwise experience."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The occupiers of small pieces of ground, though *uniformly almost* (singular expression!) in a less comfortable situation than journeymen tradesmen, are still nevertheless the objects of their envy."

Terrible thing! the occupiers of small pieces of ground are the object of envy to journeymen tradesmen who get more to eat; and the proprietor actually values the independence of his situation as much as the goodness of his meal.

Terrible thing! a rural life is more agreeable than a manufacturing one; and people may be induced, even when they do not gain so much by it, "to gratify this natural inclination."

If independence be an object of envy—if a life spent among green fields, and nourished by pure air, be more natural to the perverse inclinations of man than the additional three-halfpence a-day, which he may gain by having no independence, which he might procure amidst the putrid atmosphere of a dark and crowded workshop in the pent city—

"Woe and desolation!" exclaims the disappointed philosopher.—"Had I been God Almighty," said Sir Godfrey Kneller, "how much more beautiful should have been the sons and the daughters of the earth!"—"Had I been God Almighty," says Mr. Macculloch, "how much wiser should have been the generation of men!—none should have been visited by the miserable thought, that there was any joy in the fair sunshine, health in the fresh breeze, or happiness in the humble cottage! Had I been God Almighty, no one should have envied a man his unfortunate independence, or believed that there was any thing worth having, save that additional three-halfpence, which the journeyman tradesman is so ridiculous as not to prize above every other consideration upon earth."

And so, in all discussions which take place in England on the corn laws, on free trade, on the agglomeration of landed property, it is taken by one party, the party to which I more especially belong, as an incontrovertible maxim that, if we would confine our population exclusively to towns and to manu-

factures, the nation must necessarily profit most considerably, because it would produce more.

I remember a gentleman, a person, moreover, for whose good opinion I have much respect, exclaiming in the House of Commons, that he wondered how I, whom he was kind enough to call his enlightened friend, could be of a different opinion.

My opinion, however, if I may presume to have one, is, that a nation does not always profit most considerably when it produces most; my opinion is, that even England, though especially a commercial and manufacturing community, has other sources of greatness beside such as are to be found in her commerce and manufactures, and that benefits have actually their bounds, which it may become dangerous and impolitic to pass.*

I see the advantage of collecting a population into towns, but I see also the disadvantages; and those disadvantages I should dread, if any unlimited system was to be worked out to an extravagant extent.

I look not merely to the momentary production, but to the health and happiness and character of a people, on which, let us rest assured, depend a nation's prosperity.

FACTS AS TO THE UNHEALTHINESS OF MANUFACTURING TOWNS.

"He, whose duty it is," says Dr. Kay, in speaking of the visitation of the cholera, "to follow the steps of this messenger of death, must descend to the abodes of poverty, must frequent the close alleys, the crowded courts, the overpeopled habitations of wretchedness, *where pauperism and disease congregate round the source of social discontent and political disorder in the centre of our large towns, and behold with alarm, in the hotbed of pestilence, ills that fester in secret at the very heart of society.*"

"There are a few incontrovertible facts," says Dr. Robert-

* A country is no more powerful and great solely on account of its wealth, than it is happy only on that account; it is powerful and great for the energy and the character which the pursuit of wealth creates, but that pursuit mus be properly directed to the character that is to be produced; and if less riches are attained where nobler passions are developed, poor is the spirit of the legislator who sets any dignity above that of the mind.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Earthenware and porcelain.	Staffordshire and Derby.	. . . . .	12 to 15 hours daily.
Iron works, forges and mills.	Warwickshire & Staffordshire.	Boys employed at 8 years of age. . . .	12 hours daily, and in alternative weeks 12 *hours nightly*.
Collieries.	. . . . .	Begin at 8 years.	12 hours daily, *underground*.
Glass trade.	Warwickshire & Staffordshire.	Children employed from 9 to 10 years old.	12 hours daily—or 12 *hours nightly*.
Wire card makers. . .	Halifax.	Employ *chiefly* children.	12 to 13 hours daily.
Watch makers.	Coventry.	. . . . .	12 hours daily in winter, 14 in summer.
Pin makers.	. . . . .	Employ younger children than the cotton mills of that place.	14 hours daily.
Needle makers.	Gloucester.	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Manufacturers of arms. .	Birmingham. . . .	Children begin from 7 to 9 years old. .	13 hours daily.
Worsted mills.	Leeds.	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Ditto.	Manchester.	. . . . .	14 hours daily.
Flax mills.	Leeds.	. . . . .	13 hours daily.
Hosiery.	Leicester.	Boys, girls, and women and men employed	12 hours in winter, 13 in summer.
Ditto.	Nottingham. . . .	. . . . .	15 hours daily.
Ditto.	Mansfield.	Employ a great number of children. . .	Hours longer than in any mill in the neighbourhood.

Hours of labour of other trades than cotton spinning, in which children are employed, in conjunction with adults (delivered in and proved on oath in the House of Lords, in 1818 and 1819, and inserted in Appendix to Evidence)—34.

Lace manufactory.	Mansfield.	Children employed as soon as they can use the needle.	Hours longer than in any mill in the neighbourhood.
Lace manufactory.	Nottingham.	Children employed at 7 years old, and upwards.	12 hours daily.
Ditto.	Tiverton.		14 hours daily.
Silk mills.	Nottingham.	Children at 8 years old.	13 hours daily.
Ditto.	Congleton.	Employ near 2,000 children, of whom the *greater part* are children from 5 years, upwards.	12 hours daily.
Draw-boy weaving.	Paisley.	Children from 7 years old, upwards, extensively employed as drawers to weavers.	15 hours daily.
Cotton weavers, by hand.	Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, &c.	Children at all ages work the same hours as adults.	14 to 16 hours daily.
Draw-boy weaving.	Glasgow.	In one village, near 1,000 children from 8 to 12 years old, are employed.	Till 11 or 12 at *night*, or *even* till *one* in the morning.
Worsted mills.	Norwich.	Girls begin at 10 years old.	14 hours daily, part of the people all night.
Calico printing.	Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, &c.	Boys employed from 8 years old.	12 to 14, 15, and 16 hours daily, and sometimes *all night*.
Worsted mills.	Halifax.		14 to 15, and 16 hours daily, and sometimes *all night*.

Are we to wonder that the proportion of deaths to the population in Lancashire is 1 to 55—greater than in any other county of England—excepting Warwick (52), Surrey (52), Kent (50), and Middlesex (47),—and considerably above the average of England which is 1 in 58.—that in Manchester, it is in 1 45, and in Glasgow something more? But this system of calculating is one the most favourable to manufactures, because persons of a healthy habit die frequently in the country, when attacked by acute disease, from the want of prompt attendance.

"In manufacturing towns, the case is widely different." (I quote a very remarkable pamphlet published in 1831, called "Enquiry into the state of the manufacturing Population.") Few, if any, die from want of medical assistance.—They are supplied with every aid which skill or charity can bestow; but the diseases which prevail are of a nature which, *without suddenly destroying life* or even *shortening it materially, deprive it of health and enjoyment, and render it little else than* A CHRONIC MALADY.

Who, living in the neighbourhood of our manufacturing establishments, has not seen *children entering them at ten or twelve years of age with the beaming eye, the rosy cheek, and the elastic step of youth; and then losing the gaiety and light-heartedness of early existence*, and the colour and complexion of health, and the vivacity of intellect, and the insensibility to care, which are the natural characteristics of that tender age, under the withering influence of laborious confinement, ill oxygenated air, and unwholesome diet?

Nor is it only the children brought up in health who are inoculated with disease; others receive this malediction from their birth.

The mothers who are employed from home, are obliged to put out their infants to nurse, where the cries of those wretched little beings are stopped by opium, and their diseases aggravated by spirituous liquors.*

I have dwelt thus long upon the health of a manufacturing

* The quantity of opium which, from habit, some children become capable of taking, is almost incredible, and the effects are correspondingly destructive. Even when the infants have a healthy appearance at birth, they almost uni-

population, because it seems a fact generally overlooked. I would now call attention to their conduct.

In the course of my enquiries on this subject, I have met with two or three tables, laboriously compiled and quoted from many authorities, the names of which are respectable.

I should have given them, for they proved what I do not doubt, viz.—that a far greater number of crimes, more especially crimes against property, are perpetrated in the manufacturing than in the agricultural countries of Europe. But strange to say, on referring to such official documents as were within my reach, though I came speedily to the same result as the tables in question, I hardly found one of their figures correspond with those before me. There is, in general, I believe, much guess-work in the framing of those imposing-looking statistics, which are meant at once to settle the doubting reader.

Common sense is here better than any arithmetical rhetoric; and all the principles of human nature will tell us, that men congregated into great multitudes, surrounded by objects of ease and luxury—a contrast to their own poverty—acquiring, amidst their sedentary pursuits, some knowledge, but receiving, in the present state of society, no corresponding moral education, undergoing perpetual alterations from high wages to low, and having their wants regulated, therefore, by no fixed means of supply, must, of all persons, be most likely to acquire habits of thieving and peculation.

The facts published by the Board of Trade lead us to the same conclusion. Taking the six counties I have already named:

MANUFACTURING COUNTIES.

1831.	Crimes.		Population.		Crimes.	Population.
Lancashire, Middlesex, Nottingham	1	in	488	or	6,182 in	2,920,715

AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

Essex, Kent, Norfolk	1	in	510	or	1,796 in	917,462

formly become, in a few months, puny and sickly in their aspect, and very large numbers fall victims to bronchitis, hydrocephalus, etc.

Gin also is given to infants,, in a manner certain to increase the disease,

But discard Norfolk (a doubtful county) and take:

MANUFACTURING COUNTIES.

1831.	Crimes.	Population.	Average.
Cheshire.	513	334,410	
Lancashire.	2,352	1,336,856	
Middlesex.	3,514	1,358,541	
Northumberland.	108	222,912	
Nottingham.	316	225,320	Crime. Population.
Stafford.	644	410,483	1 in 5,645
Warwick.	655	336,988	
York.	127	1,167,288	
Total.	9,382	5,292,796	

AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

Berkshire.	291	145,389	
Essex.	607	317,237	
Hertford.	194	143,341	
Kent.	640	479,175	
Hampshire.	567	314,313	Crime. Population.
Westmoreland.	17	55,041	1 in 6,957
Wiltshire.	568	339,181	
Devonshire.	399	494,168	
Total.	3,289	2,287,725	

I lay far greater stress, however, upon the opinion which that intelligent gentleman at our Home Office, Mr. Capper, so conversant with this subject, has decidedly expressed to me, than from any such necessarily imperfect calculation * as that I have gone into—I lay far greater stress also upon the vices which all who have observed our manufacturing districts have remarked, which vices must at once be the parents and offspring of crime.

Drunkenness, then, seems a vice habitual among most manufacturing populations, and is even in a certain degree excusable, inasmuch as it proceeds from the debility, and the necessity for stimulants, attendant upon much confinement.

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when they complain of those pains in their stomachs, which unhealthy diet has produced.—*Dr. Kay.*

* The best authority we have for the number of crimes committed, is the number of committals, which cannot be perfectly accurate; nor have we officially published any consecutive statement year by year, or for a number of years taken together, of crime and population.

Neither is it astonishing,—where both sexes are addicted to drink, in a continued state of unnatural irritation, and promiscuously brought, at a very early age, into daily communion—that the senses should be marked by an early and sterile excitement.

"The fact," says our inquirer,* "undoubtedly is that the licentiousness which prevails among the dense population of manufacturing towns, is carried to a degree appalling to contemplate, baffling all statistical inquiries, and to be learned only from the testimony of personal observers."

Such are the habits of our manufacturing towns, not sketched by me, but by persons long and well acquainted with them.

But let me draw a concluding picture!

There is somewhere in the world, a city where—

One half of the inhabitants are so utterly destitute, as to have their offspring brought into the world by the aid of public charity.

Three fourths of the inhabitants so sickly as to be under medical treatment.

The cases of charitable relief, in this city, doubled in four years, and in a population of 142,026, the acts of parochial relief, each continued through an indefinite period of time, were 321,172.

Here, in 687 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 partially paved, 112 ill-ventilated, 352 containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, &c. &c.

Here, in 6951 houses inspected, 960 wanted repair, 1435 were damp, 452 ill-ventilated, 2569 wanted white-washing.

The houses of the poor sometimes surround a common area, into which the windows and doors open at the back of the building.

Porkers, who feed pigs in the town, often contract with the

* And in addition to overt acts of vice, there is a coarseness and grossness of feeling, and an habitual indecency of conversation, which, we would fain hope and believe, are not the prevailing characteristics of our country. The effect of this, upon the minds of the young, will readily be conceived: and is it likely that any instruction, or education, or Sunday schools, or sermons, can counteract the baleful influence, the contagion of this moral depravity which reigns around them!

Inquiry into the State of the manufacturing Population.

inhabitants to pay some small sum for the rent of their area, which is immediately covered with pig-sties, and converted into a dung-heap and receptacle of the pestilent garbage upon which the animals are fed, as also of the refuse which is now heedlessly flung into it from all the surrounding dwellings. The offensive odour which sometimes arises from these areas cannot be conceived.

Add to this!

One privy on an average to 250 persons; and 430 gin-shops among a people thus reduced by sickness, pauperism, and filth.

"I observed," says a person residing on this spot, "the number of persons entering ONE of these (gin) shops in five minutes during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods from seven till ten; the average result was 112 men and 163 *women*, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 415 per hour.

"It is painful to know that *children* and young *girls* are initiated into this fatal practice at a very early age."

Now what town am I describing? What part of the world am I alluding to? Where is this wretched haunt of loathsome misery and vice?

Let us visit it! we shall see commerce gathering into her storehouses the produce of every clime; and industry, toiling with indefatigable zeal, to surpass in wealth all the nations of the world. The city I have been describing is *Manchester*—one of the first manufacturing cities in the first manufacturing country in the universe!

You may tell me that this is a necessary sacrifice of human happiness to human grandeur, and that our nation would never have been so powerful, but for the incessant labour of its people.

I acknowledge it, as I acknowledge that the pyramids would never have been built, if the race of Egypt had not been slaves.

But you may tell me that the vices of a system are not necessarily compatible with its existence, and that the great mass of the English need not be so miserable a race, yet that England might remain the mart of the world.—I acknowledge it; and

I might say in England, do not change your system, but make every endeavour to destroy its defects! still I own, that seeing such a system in England, loaded with such defects, I should pause before I told France, in the stern voice of imperative philosophy, to imitate the course we had pursued.

There is a great difference in preserving what exists by amelioration, and changing what is good in the hope of improvement.

I remember to this day a picture which hung up over the door of my little study at Harrow, the picture of a very robust and corpulent couple, in consultation with a quack doctor.

"What's the matter, my friend?" says the pharmacopolist. "Why, sir, we eats very well—we drinks very well—we sleeps very well; but, somehow or other, we feels very queerish." "Ha! ha!—you eat very well—you drink very well—you sleep very well.—I'll give you something, good people, that will take away all those disagreeable symptoms."

I wish I had the picture before me now; I would venture to send it with my very humble compliments to some one of the gentlemen whose voyages I have had occasion to notice, or if I might take so great a liberty, I would present it, most respectfully, to Mr. Macculloch himself.

There is something really too absurd in the calm and decided way with which we tell a people, whom we confess to be decently well off, that if they did but know it, they are in the most melancholy condition.

Nor is this all; although I believe, with the persons from whom I have largely quoted, that many of the evils I have observed, as existing amongst ourselves, are capable of a remedy, I yet believe that there are certain evils we must be content to submit to.

A manufacturing population will be more liable to those physical complaints which, in affecting the digestive organs, create at once a disposition to discontent and to drink: it will then, under equal influence of education, be more liable to moral depravity and to political agitation: its lot also, more exposed to local fluctuations, is more difficult to reconcile to stable legislation.

"Déjà," said M. Pasquier, 29th March, 1826, "on en a subi dans ce pays (l'Angleterre) des conséquences qui méritent de fixer l'attention des législateurs et des hommes d'état. Pour quiconque ne se dissimule pas de combien de chances sont entourés les travaux manufacturiers, il est permis de n'être pas sans inquiétude, à la longue, sur le sort d'une masse aussi considérable d'individus auxquels une guerre malheureuse, ou une habile rivalité, peuvent enlever presque subitement la plus grande partie de son existence—"

But if a country like England, occupied by a race, slow of disposition, and capable of much endurance—if such a country has any thing to fear from a large manufacturing population—what would be the case in France?

Evoke the events of Lyons! See a people impatient of suffering, eager of hope, careless of consequences, fighting in every house, barricading every street, and signalizing each disastrous epoch of commercial speculation, by a political revolution or revolt!

Besides, with the manufactures of England is, in a certain degree, connected the naval power of England, and we, the children of an isle, my countrymen, must be great as a naval nation.

But if we are destined to carry to new lands the cares and interests of civilization—we, whose home is on the ocean,—another fate is attached to the people who have to defend those interests on yonder continent.

What the English are as a maritime people, the French are as a military people—and show me the successful army which was not drafted from an agricultural population!

Besides: The division of landed property, in attaching to the soil a large proportion of the inhabitants of France, not only makes good soldiers, but makes good soldiers of good citizens.

The recruit who leaves his father's cot for the camp, returns from the camp to cultivate his own field; he does not readily lend himself to the government against the nation, because he is part of the nation.

"Avec une plus grande division des propriétés, l'esprit de propriétaire se répand nécessairement dans une plus grande

portion de la société—;" * the labouring classes, elsewhere denounced as the lovers of change, become here the protectors of order; and to the warrior uprises an interest not inferior to that of his sword.

A country of proprietors may know many transitions, but it can know no convulsions: and when the revolution of 1830 differed from that of 1789, it was because the one was a revolution of paupers—the other a revolution of proprietors.

CHAPTER XV.

Though the example of France may not be a wise one for all countries to imitate, it appears a wise one for her to have adopted—The Law of Primogeniture not sanctioned by private right, though it may be by public advantage—Real results arising from it—Past conduct defective—Fate of Aristocracy in England.

It follows, from all I have just been saying, that though I in no wise mean to assert that the example of France ought to be universally followed, yet that I believe the laws of succession she has established for herself, capable of salutary modifications, are the best adapted to the character, the position, the happiness of her people.

Her riches do not increase so fast as ours; but they increase in a happy proportion with her intelligence and population.

The comforts of the great masses of her inhabitants are, to say the least, as great as those of our own labourers—and upon the whole their condition is better. To use the words of Mr. Birkbeck, "there are in France none of those exhibitions of profligacy which disgust you at every step in our country villages—no ragged wretches staggering home from a filthy alehouse—nor is this to be attributed to poverty; the earnings of the labourers are at least one third more in proportion than in England."—(P. 101—2.)

* M. Pasquier.

In fact, the man who cultivates his own field is morally a different man from the one who cultivates the field of another. It is with a nobler and a better mind that he pursues his toil. He has a motive for energy which at once awakes his prudence and develops his affections.*

It is the feeling of independence which Mr. Macculloch condemns, and which property gives, that raises the heart of the French peasant; making him a better soldier, a better citizen, a better husband, a better father.

But if the passion for property has improved the character of the lower classes, the division of property has produced a beneficial effect upon the character of the upper.

It has replaced the ridiculous ostentation of the old courtly time, by a perfect indifference to stile and show.

It has brought into manly companionship the man of wealth, the man of letters, the artist and the legislator, the noble and the manufacturer of cotton; it has destroyed prejudices which have been long passing away in England, but which, we must not forget, existed in full force in France but fifty years ago.

It has made a parent the friend of his child, instead of the patron; it has made the son obey his father from affection, instead of adulating him from interest. "Ah! on le voit trop," said Mirabeau, in that celebrated oration read by M. de Talleyrand after his death, "ce sont les pères qui ont fait ces lois (the old laws then existing), mais en les faisant ils n'ont pensé qu'à leur empire, et ils ont oublié leur paternité;" yes; the parents of those times thought too much of their power, too little of their paternity!—nor can I, for my own part, bow before that prejudice which arises from an absurd confusion of ideas, and concedes, because a man may dispose of his for-

* "It is usual for a youth of sixteen to hire himself as a domestic servant in agriculture, and when he arrives at twenty-one or twenty-two, to have laid up 400 or 500 francs—(16*l.* or 20*l.*)—With 400 francs, he buys a cottage and marries;—his wife has probably a little portion. He has an opportunity also of buying 1,500 square toises (nearly an acre and half, English) of uncultivated mountain land—rocky and poor, but fit for vines—for this he pays fifteen or twenty francs, and becomes proprietor, having a constant resource of profitable industry in winter, when work may be scarce."—(*Birkbeck*, p. 60.)

tune as he pleases during his life, that he has the same privilege after his death.

There is as much difference between the rights of a man alive and dead, as between death and life.

The rights you derive from society are the result of duties you have to perform to society; talk then of the rights of a defunct—what are his duties?

How many instances are there where the testament which asserts the one, violates the other! How many instances are there, where the dead man commits an act of injustice from behind the tomb, which he dared not have committed in the face of public opinion!

It is not the dead father who has rights, but the living son. He has a right to the fortune left in the world by the persons who brought him into the world. He has this right equally, whether he was born first or last. The parent has no natural power over the goods he has left behind; they belong, in simple justice, to all his children. But the state has a power to supersede private rights on public grounds—and here—and here alone—is the basis on which the law of primogeniture can be founded, or the custom sanctioned and maintained.

Alas! for the mother who has watched her four sons receiving the same education, and imbibing the same desires; who has guarded the equality of their boyhood, and is now expecting the moment when life's inequalities are to commence, and they who have been play-fellows and brothers are to become acquaintances and men! Lo! to one a fortune, which pampers desire—to the rest, a poverty, made insupportable by education. Alas! I say, for the mother who sees her youngest born thrown into the world—tortured by its ambition and exposed to its temptations—crossing the seas to climes which harbour pestilence and death; sitting in the morning of life, surrounded by dark cares, in the gloomy corner of a counting house; driven, in the despair of an unsatisfied and querulous existence, to the turf, to the gambling-house, to Crockford's, to Newmarket! and now, across that bright spot in the heart where hope was made compatible with honour, passes the up-springing shadow of those mean and desperate thoughts which, while they offer only an ignoble object, excite a terrible determination. I see you too, un-

happy woman! gazing bitterly on the blighted and drying-up youth of yonder daughter—on the cheek, yellow and pale, on the bosom disappearing, and the eye fading; I see your agony as you turn away from the encouragement of that poor girl's affections, because forsooth she loves a younger brother, and has but a poor sister's portion! Who shall comfort you by saying that your eldest born keeps his thirty horses at Melton, and can give 1,000*l.* with facility for the embraces of a harlot!

But in this private injustice, there is, I do not deny it, a great political combination. Individual affection is not sacrificed without the idea of procuring state advantage; a certain class is created, defending the crown, protecting the people—a certain class, carrying into the state that principle of conservation to which it owes the transmission of its own power—furnishing, in its names and its position, a history of the past and an example to the future.

The real and great result of the system of inheritance, adopted by France, as compared with that system which still maintains, and which, let me allow the truth, is still cherished by many of all classes, in England,—is—not the minute and dangerous division of land, but—the separation of land from the name of its hereditary possessor. The soil of a province may be no more divided than it was; but in ten years—still having the same number of proprietors—it may have changed those proprietors fifty times. Thus ends the connexion between a particular family and a particular spot of ground; a connexion, which whatever be the barbarity of its origin, we have long been accustomed to consider natural, and to environ with our tender respect. Thus perish those associations that yet cling to the venerable avenue and antiquated porch—associations which—let us not deny it—decorate human nature, and give to the present generation, so insufficient in itself, the memory of times gone by. Thus pass away those feelings which of old taught the peasant to believe he was born under the wing of a legitimate protector; feelings which, whether feudal or patriarchal, sprang from something stronger than prejudice, even if they be not consecrated by philosophy.

Adieu to yon vestiges, dim and daily-fading, of other days!—You vanish altogether, should that principle vanish, which has

placed England for centuries under the sway of an aristocracy, not forgetful of itself, but still mindful, I admit, of the greatness and the honour of the country.

You who would defend this aristocracy, will best do so—not by denying its faults, but by placing by the side of those faults, its virtues; not by saying that it is careless of place, repudiative of pensions, uncorrupted by kingly favour or vulgar applause; but by asserting, that, in spite of its various temptations, and its various transgressions, it nevertheless has had a heart alive to its country's greatness, and not insensible to popular rights. This aristocracy it was which carried through the camps of contending parties—which saved from the fanatic hands of Cromwell, from the faithless guardianship of Charles, which rescued from the tyranny of James, and did not lay at the feet of William—those inspiring principles which make a nation consist in a nation's people, and of which the English, though they may now be surpassed by their disciples, were the great original apostles. This aristocracy it was which, when the sovereigns of Europe were prostrate at the feet of a military despot, alone, and fearlessly placed themselves athwart his path. Nor would there, perchance, at this moment, be a democracy in France, if at the time of which I am speaking, there had not been an aristocracy in England! In truth, the nobility of this country, notwithstanding their errors, has been a great and illustrious race, such as few chronicles can show and few nations ever possessed; nor would I be the mean and unjust traducer of a body, that may have a date assigned to it, but of which the glory and the recollection will long remain.

If such a nobility fall—it will fall, not because it was exposed to the rant and cant of any raving demagogue—but because placed in a new state of society its old place no longer remains to it; because inheriting the possessions of other times, it has not inherited the respect which yet attaches to yonder portraits in our ancestral halls; because other ideas have created other superiorities, and stript an order, still disposed to struggle, of all faith in its force!

SOCIAL CONDITION.

BOOK V.

But we'll descant on general nature,
This is a system, not a satire.—PRIOR'S *Poems.*

CHAPTER I.

The two questions still left to treat.—The condition of society and the method of government among the French people.

THE reader who has kindly followed me thus far, will be sensible that I have very imperfectly, but still with some industry, attempted to bring before him a variety of subjects which lead me naturally to those I am now entering upon.

In the first volume, after a description of the gay capital of France, to which a voyager's attention is first directed, I sought for the peculiar characteristics of the French people. These characteristics, partly the effect of temperament, but partly likewise the effect of accident and custom, induced me to travel back over such events as it was fair to presume the present generation had been affected by. The state of existing parties (the postscript to all past history) furnished me then of necessity with a few pages. But, from the character and history of a people arise certain influences by which present parties, sometimes sensibly, sometimes less visibly, are directed towards the future.

Such influences I ventured to describe. One, however, was omitted; for I felt anxious to trace its power through the organs by which an age expresses itself, before I treated directly of itself. Literature in its various branches, including the press —religion, and those new doctrines which are called philosophies—all furnished me with proofs that the state of pro-

perty in a country extends over every thing within it. Thus I came to the state of property in France;—and of that I have just been speaking.

Now, it is on the character, on the history, on the state of property in a nation—expressed in various ways—that the social condition, and the method of government in that nation, depend.

These are the two questions still left to us:

The condition of society—the method of government—in France!

MANNERS.

CHAPTER II.

The sociability of the French—Charm of French society—Description, traits, sayings—Facts.

The first thing that strikes one in social France, is the characteristic sociability of the French people. A Frenchman cannot be alone; he lives for the movement of a crowd, and the clang of conversation. You would hardly find, from Calais to Marseilles, three persons of that large class in England, but more especially in Germany, who pass their lives with their own thoughts. No reputation that Frenchmen possess—no situation in which they are, can reconcile them to the loss—not of friendly intercourse with those whom they esteem and love—that we all prize:—no: what they pine at losing is—the jargon and chatter of a parcel of persons totally indifferent to them. There was Madame de Staël, who saw only, in the success of her works, the filling of her drawing-room!* and so, even in the woods of America, "my countryman," says Lemontey, "will often quit his cabin, and take a walk of five hundred leagues, just to have a chat in New Orleans!"

The German dislikes conversation, for it distracts him from

* "Mon salon redevint peuplé, et je retrouvai ce plaisir *de causer à Paris*, qui j'avoue, a toujours été pour moi le plus piquant de tous."

his meditations. The Englishman dislikes conversation, for it distracts him from his affairs. The Frenchman both thinks and acts, in order to talk about what he has done and reflected upon.

Thus, society is divided into small cliques and classes, where every one, by tacit arrangement, is allowed to speak of himself, and to collect around him a kind of social republic, each member of which takes a conventional interest in the other's affairs. Every circle has its great men, its very great men, and its GENIUS,—like the Chinese, considering all without it but the corners of the world. This renders France the only country, perhaps, where a foreigner, going from place to place, and from house to house, may form a juster estimate of persons and opinions, than a native can do; for the native is less a citizen of his city than of his clique. He sees things through a glass, which can only carry to a particular distance, and which only represents through the medium of a particular colour. Nothing is so happy for inferiority, or so fatal to superiority. The one is flattered into the belief of talent, the other into the belief of perfection. But if the statesman and the author suffer, it is impossible to say, without experience, how much social intercourse gains. Society becomes, in fact, a family, invested with the charm, and yet relieved from the monotony of relationship. The poet feels a pride in the success of the orator, the orator in that of the poet. The mineralogist is enchanted with the discovery of the chemist; and the chemist rejoices in that which has been made by the mineralogist. The beauty takes an interest in the conquests made by her circle, and the chaperone, in the marriages. The stranger who enters a certain drawing-room, finds himself immediately amongst a number of friends, and becomes, in an instant, if he pleases, the friend of all.

You, who observe the world, will frequently have seen, that no one admires gaiety so much as a person of a serious turn of mind, and that in two bosom friends you may often find the pattern of joviality and ease, and the model of frigidity and formality. I believe there is much of this in the way in which an Englishman is struck by France, and the attachment which, if he reside there, he will be apt to feel for it.

The easy and uncreaking manner in which the world moves

on all its hinges, the facility with which you may see every thing that is to be seen, and go to every place that is to be gone to; the noiseless step with which you glide into the circle accustomed to receive you, and to which you are ushered by no trumpet-sound of invitation;—the carelessness with which you can slip from society into solitude, and from solitude into society, without any question as to where you have been, or any effort to regain your dropped acquaintance;—the familiarity, and yet the variety, which attends your steps, as you drive from house to house, in search of one that shall occupy you for the evening;—the happy way in which letters, and science, and even politics and the arts, are mingled together in happy and classical confusion;—all this—so different from the well-dressed drudgery with which we toil to keep in sight of a monotonous crowd—the perpetual effort and the perpetual failure to be amused—the miserable Morning Post notoriety, which glimmers upon a miserable race, as the substitute for reputation;—all this, which, concentrated, forms a kind of sun for society, and breathes upon it the lazzaroni feeling of careless, voluptuous, independent enjoyment—all this—by the worn, and stiff, and jaded Englishman, accustomed to nothing of pleasure but the wearisomeness of its chase—is welcomed with a grateful sense of delight, such as he never before experienced, and never afterwards forgets.

There is one difficulty, in a chapter of this kind, which a writer necessarily has to encounter. Some people expect him to depicture every drawing-room he has entered, and as a return for the civility he has met with, to set forth with severity the eccentricities of his hosts:—others again accuse him of frivolity, if he descends from dissertation, and deem that the dignity of an author should elevate him above all descriptions. A miserable and frivolous curiosity I should be loth to indulge; but my object is to interest all classes of good-natured persons; while I do not deem any thing beneath a writer's attention, which amuses a reader without perverting him, and pourtrays a country without insulting it.

DESCRIPTIONS.

A Public Sitting of the Institute—Eloge funèbre.

Behold that old grey-headed academician in spectacles, and that young and smirking coquette in feathers; and that dandy with a gold-headed cane; and that veteran with the grand cross of the legion of honour! But you are not at the Opera—nor at the Théâtre Français—nor at the Variétés. You are at the Institut! At a public sitting of the Institut—and sages and soldiers, and beaux and beauties, are all come to listen to yonder gentleman with a manuscript before him and two glasses of water! Thus it is that science, as smart as fashion, talks to the world with the air of the world, about one of her departed professors. For in France she is not a recluse; the finest gentlemen and ladies are on terms of visiting acquaintance with her.

The Chamber of Peers.—This room at one of the extremities of Paris, and in that Hotel of the Luxembourg where the Directory, entering upon their functions with two chairs and a table, maintained the war fearlessly against Europe—is pretty and unimposing, in the form of a semicircle, and surrounded by boxes like a theatre.

Every peer has his chair and his bureau, and from the quiet that reigns on all occasions—state trials excepted—you may guess pretty well that this assembly, though it contains many of the most distinguished men of the day, has no very active share in the government. The most inspiring thing about it, is the Austrian flag, which now once again waves over the president's head, enlivened, to all appearance, by its long sojourn in M. de Semonville's cellar.*

The Chamber of Deputies.—M. ——*gesticule beaucoup et crie vivement* de sa place;" from this very common and descriptive phrase, our idea of a French deputy is taken, and if we drew from

* These trophies were supposed to have been taken from Paris at the time of the occupation; but no: they had been carefully and secretly—very carefully and secretly preserved by the Grand Référendaire, who when his patriotism is doubted, appeals to this glorious exhumation.

our imagination, we should paint, as the Chamber of Deputies, an assemblage of little gentlemen, all gesticulating very much, and shrieking from their places, in accompaniment to one gesticulating still more, and shrieking still louder at the tribune. But this would not be a fair portrait. The newspapers which give these descriptions are far more gesticulatory than the orators they describe. The French chamber, notwithstanding the "*ici le Président sonne*" —"*ici la chambre est en émeute*," is upon the whole more orderly than ours. No gentleman ever testifies his natural propensity to bray or to crow, nor are there even such violent coughs caught there, as the air of the House of Commons is frequently—and as it seems to me, I confess, sometimes very naturally—impregnated with. The interruptions too, that "the orator" (to use the magnificent expression given the gentleman speaking in France) meets with—are rather of a nature to animate and draw him on, than to put him out. It is not inattention, but attention which is apt to be noisy. It is only the person accustomed to the agitations of popular assemblies who experiences interruption, and he who, if a skilful master of his art, has frequently studied how to procure a remark, a contradiction, or a smile, gladly seizes the occasion to bring forth as an impromptu retort, the more elaborate part of his discourse.

What would our discussions appear, if the countenances of the audience were watched, and its whispers noted?—"Here Mr. O'Connell frowned,"—"Here Lord Stanley started,"—"Here Sir Robert Peel looked attentive,"—"Here Lord John Russell smiled,"—"movement of impatience to the left"—"movement of anger to the right," "the House much agitated,"—"the speaker evidently affected, cried *order* three times in a sonorous voice." The difference is more in the reporting than the proceedings. The ringing of the bell, to be sure, is indecorous, and the president's manner too much that of a schoolmaster, who says, "hold your tongue! be quiet sir! don't talk! mind your lesson!" &c. The tribune also, though less formal than one imagines it, still gives a theatrical and rhetorical tone to the discussion, which is admirably avoided in the simplicity of our own debates.

French Eloquence.—The style of French eloquence, indeed,

in this popular assembly, is that which strikes an English listener the most, because it is what he least expects, or is least accustomed to. With the exception of Monsieur Dupin, who, with a good deal of pedantry, mixes up the ease and abruptness of our own way of speaking, reminding you, now of Lord Brougham, and now of Mr. O'Connell,—with the exception of M. Dupin, and I must add M. Thiers, who carries into discussion all that is witty, brilliant, and striking in conversation—with these two exceptions, the parliamentary men of France proceed with a stately and solemn march, totally inconsistent with our ideas of the most frivolous, and lively, and volatile people upon earth.

Certainly it would be very difficult for any one who read the two discourses translated into German, and who was acquainted solely with the characters of the two countries, to believe that Lord Brougham's light-hearted and passionate effusion on Reform was delivered by the Lord Chancellor of England, or that Monsieur Royer Collard's profound metaphysical disquisition on the peerage was the popular speech of the Chamber of Deputies. The two nations, on crossing the threshold of their representative assemblies, seem to exchange characters. The life, the animation, the action of the French citizen passes into the English orator. The cold, abstruse, and deeply reflective spirit of the English philosopher transmigrates into the volatile person of the French statesman. And this is to be remarked: even in the first French Revolution except in moments of peculiar excitement, when men were striving for their lives, rather than contending for any legislative theory, the same cold and philosophic tone was perceptible. The usual style of the passionate and impetuous Mirabeau himself, whose character and energy were rather displayed in short, abrupt, and timely exclamations, such as the reply to M. de Brezé, than in lengthened discourses, wore so much the appearance of the calm meditation of the closet, that he was commonly accused of repeating the lectures of Monsieur Dumont.

How is it that the character and the eloquence of a people are in such direct opposition? To say that the orator reads in the French chamber and extemporizes in ours, is not sufficient, since most of the French speak extempore, without any *very apparent* premeditation. Besides, if the ex-cathedrâ species of

oratory were not in some degree conformable with the genius of the place, it would not occasionally be received and admired there. To account for this, we must remember, that that love for detail, and that passion for generalities by which the two countries are respectively characterized, are singularly remarkable in their respective constitutions. In England, the progress of improvement has been slow and piece-meal; we have added on a little here, we have cut off a little there, and we have continued mending, and sometimes, though not frequently, adding, from casual motives of expediency. We have argued upon legislative questions as upon turnpike acts; but, with one exception only, we have never solved the elements of society in order to recompose it. We have never taken abstract views of our form of government, and attempted to base it on general principles. Even in moments of change, we have adopted the language of Burke, and considering our constitution "a sacred legacy," rather asserted the justice of restoration than the necessity of improvement.

It rarely happened, therefore, previous to the few last years, that in the questions agitated, there was wherewithal to engross the whole mind and faculties of the statesman, or deeply to excite the attention of the assembly or the public. Doddington's Diary furnishes us with amusing instances of the manner in which an opposition went about looking for a grievance. The subjects ordinarily brought forward derived their importance less from themselves than from the opportunity they afforded to two parties of delivering battle. The excitement was in the strife, and not in its cause. A personal, passionate, amusing way of speaking, therefore, naturally introduced itself, without the charm and colour of which a debate would frequently have resembled Uncle Tom's dispute with nephew John on the difference between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut.

In France, on the contrary, when the builder in 1789 took the trowel into his hands, the first stone of the building was not laid. The principle on which it was to be deposited and consecrated was the subject of long deliberation. The rights of man were declared, before any attempt to deduce social happiness and political power from them was made. There was enough in the gigantic questions which started every instant

into discussion, to fill the mind of the politician, and to arrest the attention of those to whom he was communicating new and important truths. A philosophical treatise was wanted, rather than a spirited harangue; and it was only at the fall of the Girondists, when principles were forgotten and persons were contending—less indeed to obtain the honours of the state than to escape the revolutionary scaffold—that we find frequent specimens of another eloquence in those beautiful and impassioned bursts—one of which escaped from Madame Roland's unfortunate admirer, who vainly hoped and declared that his voice—"qui plus d'une fois avait porté la terreur dans ce palais d'où elle avait précipité la tyrannie, la porterait aussi dans l'âme des scélérats qui voulaient substituer leur tyrannie à celle de la royauté."

A Ball at the Tuileries.—You drive into the court-yard, get out at one of the great doors. The staircase to the right is broad and straight, with two columns at the top. The suite of rooms you enter fine. The first, white and plain; the second, surrounded by a kind of balcony and pannelled with the pictures of different maréchals. The third, very large and handsome, and leading to another that contains a velvet canopy and throne; the fifth is the last.

Before you is company—such as it is described—of a mixed kind; "one might fancy oneself in Heaven," said a lady near me—"for there, also, there is no distinction of persons."

This is abused and sneered at; very ignorantly and ridiculously, as it seems to me. A gentleman or nobleman has *his* society; but a king is of all societies. He is the head of the nation, and not the head of a clique.

At all events these balls represent France* and the epoch, and are interesting on that account.

A Minister's Reception.—Here you are struck, in most cases, by the splendid hotel of the minister, and manner, simple and plain, of the man. In fact you see two parts of society; the manners of old times and the ideas of new, but ill-joined together.

There is not a courtier but speaks the language of a repub-

* The most magnificent balls were those of Charles the Tenth—the best regulated and acted, Bonaparte's.

lican, nor a republican who does not sit on a chair rich with the luxury of Louis XV.

The ministers of one end of the town receive one night, those of the other end another. The same troop rushes from salon to salon—diplomates and deputies, generals and procureurs-généraux.

But the person for whom these soirées are really wanted is —the provincial gentleman, who would honestly imagine that no government existed, if he could not see it, and talk to it, and court it.

The bow and the smile he receives is hailed as "la loi vivante," and he enters the court yard of the president of the council with the same sacred feeling of security with which he lays his hand upon the code of the constitution.

A Member of the Opposition.—Monsieur —— lives *au troisième* in a small apartment, the salon of which opens, as is frequent in France, to the *chambre à coucher*. Every thing is as decent and simple as possible in the furniture and arrangement of the apartment, and there is an air of respectability about it and the owner, completely English.*

"Did you read my article in the *National*?" "I ought to know, for I was in the last campaign in Spain, and I say that the army is in a state of the most deplorable insubordination." "We have nothing to do with her (the Duchess de Berri), she ought to be taken before the proper tribunals." "Oui, la dissection était très-belle"—"of course you have a box for Victor Hugo's new drama"—were the mingled sounds that I once heard, and which proceeding from no common assemblage of journalists, generals, deputies, doctors, lawyers, and men of letters, gave an idea of the manner in which professions in France are intermingled, as well as of the ranks of which the opposition is composed.

Beauty of the Empire.—The apartment of Madame ——, filled

* Monsieur —— is altogether worthy of his reputation; moderate, sagacious, active, eloquent, and liked by all parties, though known to be devoted to his own. On Madame, at once remarkable for her virtue, her wit, and her charms, even a still longer eulogium might be written.

with large fauteuils, beautiful porcelain, book-cases, statues, bronzes, etc. is a model of luxury and good taste. The lady herself, equally celebrated for her manners and her wit, and exercising at one time no inconsiderable influence, retains many of the charms and all the originality for which she was once distinguished. Never was person more quick, more vivacious, more powerful, or more extraordinary in conversation.

She jumps upon a subject, kicks it here, and kicks it there; thumps it about, without respect and in all directions; then she stops breathless, and before you can collect yourself for reply, seizes another subject and treats it in the same manner. Nothing can be compared to her eloquence, her fire, her manner of deciding a question in a phrase, or painting a person by a word. A stranger, however, might be startled to hear her speak of Bonaparte.

"Oh! le petit homme, il était charmant! des dents comme des perles, toutes petites, toutes petites—des mains mignonnes—il se parfumait—oh! il était gentil, il était gourmand—le petit homme!"

The Successful Journalist.—Monsieur de—— first hit upon a method, since become common, of making his fortune by a paper. He announced formally, that a society of good royalists was formed, with a journal—his own journal, of course—for their organ. The society was generous, prizes were to be given for the best essays, the literary youth of France were invited to enter a noble field of competition, and the less lettered gentlemen of wealth were also invited to subscribe funds for this very laudable undertaking.

Such was the project announced during the restoration, and when loyalty was at its height. The prospectus took, contributions flowed in, the society received and answered a very flowery and golden correspondence—and who formed the society? and who wrote the journal? and who received the subscriptions? and who gained the prizes?

Monsieur de—— alone formed the society; Monsieur de—— alone wrote the journal; Monsieur de—— alone touched the subscriptions; Monsieur de—— alone gained the prizes.

A Gentleman of the Old Regime.—The Marquis de ——, with powdered hair and a great deal of very fine linen, was all the fashion in the time of Louis XVI., and saw Madame Dubarry dine with Louis XV.

"What do you think of society now and society then, Marquis?"

"For society—to those who lived when I did, there is no society now. How can there be, when here was my young friend (bowing to a young gentleman opposite), who was near cutting my throat just now, because we do not quite agree in political opinions? When I was a young man, Sir, the only thought and occupation was—how shall we most amuse ourselves? All the wit, all the talent, all the energy, which is now working itself out in such a variety of ways, was then concentrated in creating pleasure." "And luxury, Marquis?" "How can you talk of luxury?—the only luxurious creature of modern society that I remember, is gone, disappeared altogether. The courtezan is as antediluvian as the mammoth. In my time she kept her carriages, had her most beautiful and classically epicurean apartment, or her delightful *petite maison;* where she gave *soirées* far more difficult to get to than those of the queen. She studied the art of giving pleasure as a science; every thing about her breathed that *volupté* and that desire to which she devoted herself—and then her conversation was as piquant as her person!"

"But how did she support all this extravagance?" "Oh! she lived either with a gambler or a grand seigneur. I remember your father, Monsieur de ——, saying, when he had lost everything—*au moins puis-je garder Julie et un cabriolet!* The Prince de Soubise, in my time, kept seven figurantes, who had each their allotted night. He allowed them lovers in the meantime, but they were peremptorily to be of the noblesse. Poor Ségur, I remember, was very much in love with one of them, Mlle. Adèle. 'Oh! Prince,' said some one to him, 'if you knew the pain you give poor Ségur every Tuesday!' '*Mais qu'a-t-il donc?*' '*Il aime Adèle.*' '*Quels enfans! et pourquoi ne me l'ont-ils pas dit? Elle ne viendra plus jusqu'à ce que cela soit passé—cela passera.*'"

A Notary.—Is my English reader a ward in chancery? if so, he has been more than once in Lincoln's-Inn. What comfortless chambers are those of his most respectable solicitor!

Well, he goes to Paris to a small entresol in a large hôtel! He is shown into a little boudoir;—the table is covered with splendid pieces of Sèvres, and the chimney-piece loaded with or-moulu. A book-case, surmounted by every variety of Venus, fronts the chimney, and contains the most richly bound and the most splendid gilt books in the world.

Is he at his lady's?—no; he is at his lawyer's—who will be with him in five minutes in the splendidly brocaded dressing-gown of the courtier of Louis XV.

A Literary Lady.—Climb up two or three pair of stairs—pull the bell at a small door—and enter a little room, simple and in good taste. There is a doctor, a couple of journalists, a poet, a bookseller, and a mathematician! The doctor cures his patients by magnetism; the journalist intends saving his country by a war, a bankruptcy, and the guillotine; the poet writes long romances, which he calls lyrics; the bookseller despises Walter Scott and Lord Byron, but respects the manner in which they are printed. The mathematician is a clever man and makes love to the lady: and the lady, half poet, half journalist, half physiologist, half author, and half coquette, talks to the doctor about magnetism, to the journalist about guillotining, to the poet about romances, to the bookseller about printing, to the mathematician about love, and to the last visitor about all these.

A Philosophic Modist.—The Demoiselle F....., modist, aged twenty years, living Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, had contracted the bad habit of play. Gay and pretty, she had many adorers, and some had presented money with their heart; but her passion for play was such, that in less than three years she lost 60,000 francs. She then began to sell her furniture; and alas! the more her distress was known, the less pressing her lovers became. At last, too idle to work, and too distressed to live without it, she determined to put an end to her existence, and chose the first day of the year for her project.

But before lighting the charcoal, she wrote the following letter to her mother :—

"My dear Mamma,

"The year just passed has been to me a very unhappy one—I hope that the one now commencing will bring you those consolations you stand in need of. You know, my dear mamma, that for some time past my resources have been daily diminishing. It is painful to live in privation after one has been accustomed to luxury. It is disagreeable to work after one has been free, and accustomed, from early youth, to follow one's pursuits, and one's pleasures. Then forgive me, my dear mamma, if, having lost all those advantages I ought to have been careful of—I do not now want to sigh over my misfortunes.

"Alas! my pen refuses to obey my will, or I would paint to you all my past tribulations. But death is waiting for me, and I shall be gone before midday. So I kiss you, my dear mamma, as I love you, that is to say, with all my soul.

'Your respectful daughter,

"JOSEPHINE ——.

"*Paris, Jan.* 1, 1835."

(Gazette des Tribunaux.)

A WISE COCHER DE CABRIOLET.—"They want to make me join them, Sir, in their émeutes and nonsense.

"Ma foi," I said to myself, "et qu'est-ce que tu as été, toi, sous l'empire?" "Cocher de cabriolet."—"And under Charles X.?" "Cocher de cabriolet."—"And under Louis-Philippe?" "Cocher de cabriolet."—"And if there were a republic, what would you be?" "Cocher de cabriolet. Alors, que la dynastie aille comme elle pourra. Je ne m'en mêlerai point, moi qui ne serai jamais que cocher de cabriolet."*

* "Faith," I said to myself, "and what have you been—you—under the the empire?" "Cocher de cabriolet."—"And under Charles X.?" "Cocher de cabriolet."—"And under Louis-Philippe?" "Cocher de cabriolet;"—"and if there were a republic, what would you be?" "Cocher de cabriolet. Then let

A Military Porter.—"I met my porter, yesterday," said a gay officer to me, "my porter, who is an old soldier of the '*vieille garde*' with my sword in his hand. 'It is as bright now as ever it was,' said he. 'I did not know it had ever been soiled,' said I. 'Alas! yes, Sir, I had some words yesterday with a carabineer; we met in the morning, and this weapon that you see passed through his body. Pauvre garçon! il est tombé là raide mort.'"

TRAITS.

IMPORTANT NEWS.

"My dear Cecile,

"THE FATHER left yesterday the port of Marseilles, in the ship called 'Le Prince héréditaire.' The captain's name is Vianello. You first announced to me his departure from *prison*. I announce to you his departure from *the west*.

"THE FATHER has quitted *the west!*.... let this great fact resound in the ears of all men and of all women!!!—

"&c. &c. &c. &c.

"Rodreguer Barrault.

"*24th September, year of the mother.*" *

A Reading.—This kind of demi-publicity still continues, and keeps the vanity of the author in breath until he has finished his work. If he is writing a tragedy, he will read it scene by scene; if a novel, chapter by chapter. Nobody is invited who is not a good admirer, except on very rare occasions. I remember one of these—a gentleman had written a comedy which he thought too indecent for the stage—and in order to make up his mind, invited the most modest of his female acquaintance to hear it.

A Pension.—The persons one meets at these places are on an average—a French colonel on half-pay—an English shopkeeper

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the dynasty go on as it will. I'll not meddle with it, who shall always be—cocher de cabriolet."

* Copied verbatim.

—a couple of journalists—and a respectable old English lady with her youngest daughter.

The English mother does not know French, and has gone to a *pension* in order that her daughter may learn it. The French colonel sits at dinner between the two—and seduces the simpering girl under the mother's unsuspecting apron.

The English at the Cafe de Paris.—I remember being seated at the window of this café near a very decent English family. "Very good chicken! capital wine! it's Volney," says the gentleman, "Volney," you know my dear, (very loud!) called after the famous traveller."*

Duels of the Chamber.—You can buy what are called "les balles de député." These balls evaporating in the air, are sure to do no mischief to the senatorial combatants. Was there ever such a criticism on the age? *Men fight for honour* and *cheat it.*

* I would not pass by this subject without one or two words of regret given to my unfortunate countrymen. Go to Calais, Boulogne, any of the British visiting provincial towns, or even to Paris itself, and see the queer figures who are passing themselves off as models of English elegance. Just look at their pinched-up, or broadened-out brimm'd hats, their indescribably-cut coats, their whiskers, their mustachoes, their swagger, their ignorance, their insolence and recollect to your horror that the costume, and the ton that would hardly be tolerated in Burlington Arcade or Covent Garden saloon, are very soberly considered by the French people, who have never passed the channel, as a fair specimen of the tip-top taste and breeding of their outlandish neighbours. Again, pass where you will on the Continent, and be sure, if anything very extraordinary, very ridiculous, very impertinent be done, be sure it is one of your countrymen who has the honour of doing it! If any man live in more scandalous indecency than the habits even of Italy will allow, be sure it is a native of that country which prides itself on its especial prudery and morality. If any body be noted for a greater freedom of language, and a more unconscionable incontinency than another, ten to one but it is a lady of that land which is so proud of the modest purity of its women.

England abroad and England at home, thank heaven! are in this respect two countries as different as Kamschatka and Otaheiti. People of all sexes and all classes seem to take a pride in convincing the world, that they change their climate, and that if they conduct themselves with decency and propriety in May Fair and Fleet Street, they can be guilty of every species of indecorum when in sight of the Champs-Elysées and the Coliseum.

SAYINGS.

CARLISM.—"Cette pauvre princesse (the Duchess of Berri) elle donnait de si jolis bals!" such is the attachment of one half the Faubourg to the heroine of la Vendée.

LOVE OF NATURE.—A young Frenchman was abusing Italy as nothing extraordinary.—"Ah!" said Madame—"you were not there when M. de Laval was minister."

CONJUGAL VIRTUE.—"La vertu d'une femme mariée, c'est de garder son amant même quand il lui déplait."

OBEDIENCE.—"Certainement," said a young lady, very seriously, to one then about to be married—"les femmes doivent obéir dans les petites choses, mais les hommes assurément dans les grandes."

ABSENCE.—"I do not love my husband enough to leave him."

ANCESTRY.—"Je me moque des mes ancêtres; jugez donc, mon cher, ce que je dois faire des vôtres." *

TYRANNY.—"What a tyranny we live under!" says a gay carlist. "And where have you just come from, Sir?" "Oh! from Prague; two hundred of us went to offer our homage to Henry V." "And is this generally known?" "Certainly, every body knows it."

"To be sure it is a terrible tyranny you live under."

TIES of RELATIONSHIP.—An enraged husband was about to slay the lover of his wife.—"Arrête, malheureux!" cried the lady, "tu vas tuer le père de tes enfans."†

* I laugh at my own ancestors, judge then, my dear fellow, what I might do with yours.

† Stop, unhappy man! you are about to kill the father of your children.

PARAGRAPHS THAT SUCCEED EACH OTHER IN A NEWSPAPER.

STATISTIQUE.—LEGION OF HONOUR.

Difference between 1831 and 1833.

Great cross. .	7
Grand officers. .	12
Commanders. .	99
Officers. . .	419
Chevaliers. . .	5,831

INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE.

There are in France 1,935,000 children, who receive primary instruction. There are 41,000 schools; and upwards of 11, private.

MODES.

We omitted, by mistake, in our last number, to speak of the dress which the Queen wore at the court ball. *We hasten* to repair this error. Not only was Her Majesty's toilette magnificent, but elegant. The gown was — *white satin embroidered with roses, &c. &c.*

LES ENFANS DE MARSEILLES.

A report of M. le Maire de Marseilles relates to us the grave inconveniences and accidents that result from the pitched battles fought daily between the two parties among *the Children* in different quarters of the town.

Then follows a list of the jury for the department of the Seine.

Surely these paragraphs, thus running and blended together, give no bad picture of France as it is. Her impetuous youth, her military honours, her primary instruction, her jury list, and then—*the gown embroidered with roses!*

Thus have I sketched, as illustrations to my subject, two or three scenes and portraits, and even noted a few traits and observations. I will now throw together a few facts.

Of books published in 1833, I find Poetry of different kinds.	275
Modern law, the sciences, natural history, and administrations.	532
Romances, Novels, and translations of the same.	355
Histories, narratives and the like. . . .	213
Philosophy, metaphysics.	102
Travels and fine arts.	170
Devotion, Theology, etc.	235
Theatrical pieces in verse and prose. . .	179
Foreign books of different languages. . .	604
Pamphlets, libels, prospectusses, and speeches	4,346
Total. .	7,011

What do we see here?—in the first place, an enormous appetite for momentary and frivolous discussion; that one expected;—but by the side of it behold a love for the sciences, for natural history, and the theories of government, which we might have supposed less general amongst so volatile and excitable a people!

Then again, novels, poetry, and the drama, those branches of literature that, judging from the surface of things, we should have deemed most in abundance, furnish less than metaphysics, devotion, history, and the arts.

Novels, etc. including translations. .	355
Poetry.	275
Drama.	179
	709
Metaphysics.	109
Devotion.	235
History.	213
The arts.	170
	720

And now if we take the theatres! there we find the returns of:

The Opéra, dancing and French music;
The Porte St. Martin, Mélodrame;
Vaudeville, Variétés, Gymnase, } little farces;

to be as much as the twelve other theatres of Paris, including the Théâtre Français, the Opéra Comique, and the Italian Opera put together.

Turn we to the Institut! who are the candidates?

M. Châteauneuff,* an historian.

M. de Salvandy, a very remarkable periodical writer.†

And M. Scribe, the well known and happy farce writer—on this occasion as on others successful.

In the exposition at the same time, I remark—nor is this unuseful in tracing the habits of a population—

15,000 clocks, average price. .	250	francs.
40,000 pairs of flambeaux. . .	20	»
3,000 do candalabres. . . .	200	»
60,000 glass cylinders. . . .	10	»
Lustres and lamps to the value of .	1,000,000	»
Small articles of bronze. . . .	1,800,000	»
More costly do.	2,000,000	»

In all this, there is a strange mixture of different and opposing qualities, such as are to be found in a nation not moulded in a day, but which, on the contrary, has passed through a variety of changes, and presents, in its molten mass, a variegated and heterogenous composition. We see old tastes by the side of new, and new tastes which almost seem incompatible with the old!

The everlasting appetite for scandal and science!

The love for the melodrame and the joke!

The struggle between history, metaphysics, and farce!

The luxury of tastes, and the mediocrity of fortunes.

* Author of "the History of the great Captains."

† The author of "Alonzo," which also had four editions, and of "the History of Poland."

YOUNG FRANCE.

CHAPTER III.

Modern Cataline—Journalist—Dramatist—Suicide—Son of a tallow-chandler—Monsieur Marmote Fathay—Baron de ——— Royalist—Doctrinaire—Artist—Young Doctors, and Philosophers of the hour.

Let us see! There has been a conspiracy. Who are at the bar? a cabinet maker, a certain number of shoemakers, a locksmith, a painter, a button-maker, an engraver, a shopkeeper, a doctor, and a lady, whose more peaceful occupation is to sit at the counter of a café. All eyes are of course turned upon the lady and the chief of this terrible band, whose plots have disquieted the dreams of the good citizen King, and exercised the arms of his valorous national guard.

Come forth, most renowned Cataline! "Who are you?" "I am the son of a prolétaire (peasant). I belong to that class which the rich repudiate and misunderstand. My temper is irritable and nervous;—chafing at little obstacles—calm before a battalion with fixed bayonets. I do not know so much as I should wish to know, for education is not gratuitous in France.

"You ask me my life.—A boy, enlisting as volunteer, I fought under Napoleon's eagles. The restoration came, I returned to my father's cottage, and shared the rude labours of the old man. From that cottage, the revolution of July called me. The charter was violated. I wished for a republic. Wounded on the 28th, I leaped into the Louvre on the 29th.—In the Tuileries, a sabre-cut maimed this hand. In the rue de Rohan, a ball entered this shoulder. As I behaved in July, so I behaved in June."

President. "You are accused at that time of homicide with premeditation."

Republican. "I know it."

President. "You ran about the streets, shouting 'To arms!'"

Republican. "Yes."

President. "Did you distribute cartouches?"

Republican. "When they were wanted."

President. "Did you not fire upon a battalion of the line?"

Republican. "I traversed with ten comrades the whole of the first line. Eight fell, and I retired by the street."

Such are the answers of a slight young man, with hollow cheeks, penetrating eyes, and black moustaches.

He had fought for a republic. What did he want? A government without appointments, without taxes. Things, he thought, would go well, if left to themselves.*

Here is one of your "Young France," a type of that reckless and imaginative youth, ever ready to rush on the cannon.

Born of poor parents, with but little education, of daring character, impracticable ideas and good intentions;—consumed by unemployed energies and dissatisfied ambition.

Requiring action from his temperament;—the very soul of a state at war;—a canker into its repose in peace.

Let us turn to another class and another type!

"It happened to me," says M. Janin, "as it has happened to all men of letters, present and past—I entered a literary career without knowing it, and without wishing it. I was a writer, in ignorance that I did write;— by necessity, as every body is."

Oh! I remember my mother, her cottage by the Rhône side, and the diligence which carried me to Paris, on a speculation; for my father, and my uncles, and all my family thought me a real prodigy, and so did the ladies of my village, to whom I wrote verses, and who said that all I wanted was,—a little education.

Thus was I sent to the "*famous*" college—(for my friends were determined that every chance should be in my favour)—to the "*famous*" college—which had gained the prize that year,

* See National, 30th October, 1832.

and which I and my friends considered it a matter of course that I should gain the year following.

"I passed three years at that college, did not gain the prize, and learned little for my pains;—that is to say, I learned neither mathematics nor languages, nor history, nor indeed any kind of literary lore; but I learned something, I confess, of the world's lore;—for I learned how one makes friends, and how one keeps them, and also with how little science, and how little merit, and how little industry, one may get on in life.

"This, after all, was no despicable kind of knowledge. My comrades had friends, and prospects dependant on friends. What alas! has become of most of them?*

I had no expectations, no friends, beyond the walls of that memory-haunted place—no friends, save an old grand-aunt, eighty years old, who, hobbling along, the dear old creature! by the aid of her hooked stick, came, at last, to take me to her garret, *au quatrième*, to which she had brought all our old country furniture,—the chairs, the table, and the little sofa and bed, the very same I knew so well;—and there we lived four happy years of my life.—Oh! what four happy years those were! How many passions given to the wind! how much useless poesy! what sighs wafted to the clouds! what labour, too, to gain my little livelihood as I could!†

"Those years passed by me like a day. I desired nothing, feared nothing, I envied nothing. Living with my friends, having now and then with them a joyous and savoury repast,

* "Some bandied on the sea, slain in battle; some fell in Greece, taken by surprise; many have fallen in the Bois de Boulogne, by a swords stab in a corner behind a tree; others again have lost their memory;—and then, what a host have perished by different modes of suicide—the vaudeville, the song, the epic, the hazard table, and love.

"I saw them on the threshold of our college, I saw them quit it so beautiful! so laughing! so gay! so full of youthful folly.

"Let us pray for them!"

† "In the first place, I gave lessons, at so much a lesson; I taught a thousand things I knew little about; for instance, Latin, Greek, history, geography, and Heaven knows what besides; I'd have taught Hebrew or Syriac, if I had been asked; any thing but mathematics. Mathematics one cannot teach without knowing them, and this is why I have ever had a great respect for mathematics.

I made my scholars understand little from my lessons; but they taught somebody—they taught myself."

happy in the happiness of my old aunt, and sticking up against the wall, when I could buy them, great red and blue daubs, which I thought very beautiful, and which were called Greeks then, as they would be called Poles now.

"That was life! and what heroines! with what names! Alexandrina, Rose, Lili,—German, Spanish, French,—great lady, or little grisette—all suited us.

"Thus I and those like me lived from day to day, trusting to chance; with little effort, no variety, and but slight privations.

"But I meant to speak of my entry into literature; how was it? Many volumes could be written on a literary life in France! I mean merely to write of my own. It is short, *but it will give a pretty good idea of the literary life of my epoch.*

"One evening, I remember it well, I was walking backwards and forwards before that theatre, which I then thought the perfection of the dramatic art, "l'Opéra Comique," revolving in my mind, with no small degree of agitation, whether I would or would not give the 44 sous, that the Opéra Comique at that time exacted at its portal.

"At this critical moment, whom should I see but a young man, whose acquaintance I had made in the Luxembourg, by my dog making the acquaintance of his dog, and who had then under his arm, the arm of an elegant and beautiful lady. What were my feelings when he proposed to me a place in his box, a place by the side of that elegant and beautiful lady, who was no less,—my heart thrilled,—than a singer at the opera!

"My friend was a journalist—his happiness decided my profession: I became a journalist too; and a journalist I shall die, because I was walking one beautiful summer's evening before the door of the Opéra Comique.*

* Not that I complain, in saying this, of a literary life. I am far from being so ungrateful towards the noblest career in this age of liberty. A literary life in France has, at all times, been a life apart and amidst the grandeurs of the world; it is better than that now; it is a life apart amidst the powers of the world.

The man of letters is what the Grand Seigneur was. They have both taken their place in our institutions—they are both citizens, but citizens out of the crowd, in spite of the crowd—citizens apart—citizen aristocrats, to say the truth, by passion, by sentiment, by thought, and by reputation.

"It is but the first step that makes us fear—in a balloon, on a railroad, as the editor of a paper;—there you are seated comfortably and calm; and there is the crowd below you, trembling and affrighted—*voilà tout!*

"'Our age is the age of free thought, of independence—our age is the age of the press—the golden age for the periodical writer. Happy then, and proud am I to belong to that press, to be a periodical writer.

"When I commenced, what existed in France had an immense appearance. It appeared a universe to a gay journalist of twenty. Well, it is all gone—all—vanished—gone, Heaven knows where—gone, and devoured by the journal, that power so frail and dwarfish when I commenced my career, exposed as it was to the arbitrary will of a censor, who would cut you off a thought as an executioner does a head.

"By what ruins am I surrounded! What a gulph between the time when I first mended my pen to write, and now when I take it up to trace the recollection of things gone by!

"At first, I was a writer unknown, a writer of the opposition by epigram—harassing and attacking the ministers, of whom I knew little, and who knew less of me. Later, I rose from the little newspaper to the great newspaper—from the popular journal to the aristocratic journal, always the same man, in spite of what people have thought proper to say, always of the opposition, now here and now there.

"They who reproach me with having passed from one pa-

The man of letters of to-day, has, with his pen, an existence assured and gained, quite as much as has the advocate, or the notary.

The constitution could not exist without debates and discussions of all kinds, for and against.

The journal to-day is more than a want, it is a duty. It is a necessity of every morning, of every evening, of every hour. The journal is the reproduction of a whole life, public, literary, philosophic, taking all the shades of society, from the first to the last. This power guides at will, and violently, every one and every thing: power inexorable, devouring itself when it has nought else to feed upon! Do you know how many writers, active, passionate, and devoted, it requires to suffice for all its exigencies, and all its wants, and all its life?

Do you know into what a gulph without bottom, are thrown at every instant such a multitude of passions, of ideas, of paradoxes, of follies, of every thing which is engendered by the heart, soul, passion, vices, and virtues of mankind?"

per to another, cannot reproach me with having changed from one opinion to another; always attacking whatever I thought strong; the enemy of the powerful; never guided in my hostilities by my interest, and ever quitting that side which became the victorious one. This is why I left my little liberal journal of the opposition when it triumphed under M. Martignac; this is why I left my great royalist journal of opposition the day that M. Polignac came into power.

"Opposition has been my life, as to others is the support of power."*

Such is the most popular journalist's description of his life and opinions.

And now we will pass from the journalist to the dramatist —to the criticised from the critic;—and here again we find a gentleman his own biographer.

"I was not twenty years old when my mother one morning entered my room, came to my bedside, kissed me weeping and said—

"'Mon ami, je viens de vendre tout ce que nous avions pour payer nos dettes'.†

"'Eh bien! ma mère?'‡

"'Eh bien! my poor child, our debts paid, there remains to us 253 francs—'

"'A year?'

My mother smiled bitterly—

"'In all?' said I.

"'In all.'

"'Well, my mother, I will take the fifty-three francs and start this evening for Paris.'

"'And what will you do there, mon pauvre ami?'

"'I'll see the friends of my father, the Duc de Bellune, Sébastiani, Jourdan.'

"'Do as you will,' said my mother, kissing me once more —'perhaps it's the inspiration of God'—and she went out.

"My first visit was to Marshal Jourdan; he had some vague

* This writer seems to consider that to be always in the opposition is always to be consistent, and that it matters not what you oppose.

† My child, I have just sold everything we had to pay our debts.

‡ "Well, my mother."

recollection of my father, it is true; but had never heard that he had a son. I left him in ten minutes, very imperfectly convinced of my existence.

"I next went to General Sébastiani.

"The general was in his 'cabinet de travail;' four or five secretaries were writing under his dictation, each of whom had upon his bureau, besides his pen, his paper, and his pen-knife, a gold snuff-box, which he presented to the general whenever he stopped before him in those perambulations which, like the *malade imaginaire*, he conducted across his chamber now in one direction, now in the other.

"My visit was short; whatever might be my consideration for the general, I had no wish to become his snuff-box bearer.

"The day after, I presented myself at General Foy's.

"I was introduced into his library; he was then occupied with his History of the Peninsular War. At the moment I entered, he was writing on one of those tables which lift up and down at pleasure; scattered around him were speeches, maps, and half open volumes.

"Turning round with his accustomed vivacity, and hearing the door of his sanctuary open, he fixed his penetrating eyes on me—I trembled.

"'Monsieur * * * * * * ?' said he, 'are you son of the general who commanded the army of the Alps?'

"'Yes, general.'

"'*C'était un brave.* What can we make of you?'

"'Any thing you like, general.'

"The next day I returned to the hotel of the general, he was my sole hope.

"'Eh bien,' said he, your business is settled. You are supernumerary clerk, with an appointment of 1,200 francs per annum,* in the office of the Duke of Orleans!'"

This is the opening scene in the theatrical life of one of the first writers of the French stage.† But there are other pretenders less fortunate.

"A few days ago," says a late journal, "a body was dragged from the Seine, near Pont St. Nicolas, the dead body of a

* About 50*l.*

† M. Alexandre Dumas.

young man aged twenty years. It was the body of a young poet, by name—Jules Mercier. In his pocket was found an elegy entitled, '*A Emma*,' and bearing the date of April last.

"At the bottom of the elegy was the following note—'This piece ought to have been part of a collection that my editor should publish immediately.'

"It is now about a month," continues the journal, "since a young man presented himself at our bureau, and asked to speak to the editor of our paper. The editor was absent, and one of our contributors received him.

"He was a young man, about twenty years old, with a countenance pale, interesting, and betraying suffering. This young man was—Jules Mercier.

"He offered with a timid air a little roll of paper; the roll contained some verses, entitled, 'To Lelia!' These verses we could not receive, having already, a few days before, inserted some on the same subject, and bearing the same title. A week after, the young man returned, bringing another set of verses, which he begged us to admit; though the space they would occupy was considerable.

"This piece was called 'The Gulph.' We promised that it should be examined.

"The young poet seemed well satisfied, and promised to come the next day and receive our observations.

"We expected him the next day—he did not come. We are never to see him more."

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

But what dark and cadaverous gentleman is yonder, with a slight moustache, pointed beard and tuft, and long hair, stuck up in the middle and combed down on each side, so as to hang upon his shoulders?

That gothic chevalier is the son of a tallow-chandler, corner of rue St. Denis. He does not think that the reign of chivalry is gone. No! but that he, the son of the tallow-chandler, has become the chevalier.

Thus, here and there the prestige of an aristocracy remains; but then every one thinks he may be an aristocrat.

Just listen!—

Monsieur Marmote Fathay, the respectable son of a respectable bookseller, publishes some poems. "Fathay," pronounced "Fatty," is a most unpoetical name, and the poems have little success. What happens?

Behold, in a new edition, "Fathay," odious appellation! has disappeared, "de" is before the "Marmote," and "Alphonse" before the "de," and read instead of "Poems by Marmote Fathay,"—

"Poems by Alphonse de Marmote." Alphonse de Marmote! Who would dream that a name so aristocratic and so sonorous should have been formuled (I use the French expression), from plain Marmote Fathay, the plebeian signature of a good-natured young bookseller.

But so it is, and half the world who doubt in christianity believe firmly in the nominal identity of—

"Alphonse de Marmote!"

Nor is this a singular transmogrification!

I was sitting the other day at the café de Paris; a tilbury with red wheels drove up to it, and a gentleman, with a Brobdignagian beard and whiskers to match, descended therefrom.

His hat, of singular shape, was nicely balanced on one side of his head, displaying an immense *chevelure* on the other. His coat built about the skirts in the stern fashion of a Dutch frigate, was *bleu de ciel.** His waistcoat, as variegatedly dazzling as a well shaken kaleidescope, opened in the middle to display a green satin neckcloth, be-pinned and be-chained from the top to the bottom like a lady's stomacher. This individual was nearly six feet high, and having taken a careful survey of his undusted boots, entered the café, humming a tune, and pulling about his curls, and brandishing his cane, and making as much as possible of all that appertained to his large and magnificently apparelled person,—'*Eh! bonjour, Baron!*' said a creature, to all seeming of the same genus, who was standing at the entrance of the small room to the right picking

* Sky blue.

his teeth. "Do you know who that is?" said the friend I was dining with. We were sitting at one of that line of tables to the left, and nearly opposite the door, which the Baron had entered.

"Not I, indeed," said I.

"Well, I'll tell you more about him than he thinks, I dare say, that any body here is acquainted with.

"A lady,—do not ask about her virtue! first pointed out to me yonder hero. It was at the Variétés,—we were in a little dark box, and could not be seen; he was, as you may suppose, in the most conspicuous part of the theatre.

"'Voilà un homme,' cried the lady, 'qui me doit beaucoup, —beaucoup,— beaucoup.'*

"Now, as I suspected my friend of being rather more addicted to borrowing than to lending, I uttered with great naïveté a rather surprized '*Comment?*'†

"'*Oui, oui*' said she.

"That young gentleman was the son of a a French washer-woman, who said his father was an English general. For many years the old man had the malice to doubt this very creditable fact, and for many years, in consequence, *mon ami, que voilà!*‡ ran about in very ragged *déshabille*, carrying, not unfrequently, a well-filled basket, now of clean and now of dirty clothes, from and to the maternal garret.

"The aptitude, however, which a death-bed creates, to believe in miracles, convinced the old gentleman, when he was about to die, that he might have, could have, and must have begotten the unfortunate and long forgotten Albert.

"A will, in consequence, was made, a fortune bequeathed, a soul, perhaps, saved, and a dirty lad who went to bed with five *sous* in his pocket, awoke the heir to 100,000 fr. per annum, inscribed *sur le grand livre*.

"Albert was then 19 years old. His mother washed for me.

"'Take my advice,' said I to the mother, 'return this very night all your customers' dirty linen, and start you by to-morrow's

* See there, a man who owes me a great deal—a great deal.

† How is that?

‡ My friend, whom you all see.

diligence, off to your province. As to your son, I will make gentleman of him.' The old lady listened to my counsels, which I actually advanced 500 francs in support of; and Monsieur Albert was told that two little rooms in my apartments were at his service. Well, I kept him quiet, and had him taught to read and write,—he never made a very good scholar; —and to ride and to walk;—oh! mon Dieu, what pains I had with his elbows; and to put on his hat, and to swing his stick, —you see he is always swinging his stick! and then what drives we had in the Bois de Boulogne before I could make him sit decently in a cabriolet, or hold the reins like a christian.

"At last Albert only wanted four months of coming of age. 'Go and travel,' I said: 'that is, go to my aunt in the country, (I have got an old aunt in Auvergne), and wait there till I write to you.'

"Well, I took a large apartment for him on the Boulevards, and had it magnificently furnished, with a little boudoir *en gothique*. I had then all his table-cloths, and all his knives and forks, and all his porcelain, and all his pocket handkerchiefs, handsomely worked with a coronet, and the day before his arrival came a large packet from the country—to the *Baron* * * *.

"Would you believe it? for the first week of his arrival I sent him,—in different handwriting too—some by the twopenny post, some by the general post, some by a page, some by a groom, and some by a commissionaire—five hundred and sixty-two letters, all properly addressed, 'To the Baron * * *.'

"From that week he was 'Baron' to all the world. His servants said, 'Monsieur le Baron,' I said 'Monsieur le Baron,' his new acquaintances said 'Monsieur le Baron,' and he himself signed himself 'Le Baron de' with all the natural dignity of a hero whose history was incorporated with the crusades.

"The young gentleman who walked into the café just now," continued my friend, "is the identical Baron, who owes so much to the good lady to whom I owe his history."

This is a fact!

But some titles are more ancient, and accompanied with greater worth.

The young M. de—, who was lately compromised in the

affair of La Vendée, is a liberal royalist of the school of Châteaubriand and Martignac, and one of the most distinguished among the young nobility.

Never seen at the Tuileries during the prosperity of Charles X., immediately on arriving from Algiers, he hurried to Lulworth, and disdaining, as he says, to control a sentiment which he thinks chivalrous and noble, by prudential calculations, he has ever since been ready for any enterprise, however desperate, which the misguided family in exile have felt inclined to sanction. He will neither permit himself nor any one else to reason with him on this subject. "If the mob had been reasonable," he says, "they would never have ventured with an army of hackney coaches to overthrow the ancient dynasty at Rambouillet."

One observes in this young man, more strongly than in any instance I ever saw, how much depends on circumstances: the benumbing, soporific effects of prosperity, and the advantages which, in the development of intellect and character, adversity has the merit to bestow.

Five years ago ——— was a French dandy—occupied with little but his horses, his tilbury,—his neckcloths, his waistcoats, and pantaloons. Hurrying from amusement to amusement —the only thought that ever came across him at times—was that he was bored. With an easy income, and one of the most illustrious names in France (at that time a fortune), handsome, graceful, and just married to a wife in every way accomplished, he had all that could be desired; and yet, despite of this, there is no comparison in the measure of respect which he received from those who knew him then, and that which is paid him by those who know him now.

The life he leads, and has led since the revolution of 1830—is curious as a specimen of that pursued by many of his class. For the last two years he has spent eight months of each year in a lonely château in the country, with his thoughts and books. He has dismissed even the appearances of pleasure—horses, equipage, &c. In Paris he goes no where but to the club: at home, he never receives visitors, and is only to be found by one or two friends, whom he invites to a dinner which is nowise changed on their account. If he has any society, it is that of

artists and men of letters, who, as he feels by a certain instinct, throw a dignity and poesy about his position. Such, too, is in general the society of that set of royalists to which he belongs —partly because the head of their party (M. de Châteaubriand) inspires a respect for his distinction—and partly because there is in their own feelings, and politics, and hazardous situation, a something noble, imaginative, and dangerous, which seeks for thoughts and sympathies higher than those of the ordinary kind.

But hostile as are the ardent and high-spirited youth of the Faubourg St. Germain to the Prince chosen by the nation—there are few amongst them who attach any divine right to the principle of hereditary succession. They consider it simply as a link between the past and the present; as a guarantee of stability and durability, as a decoration and illustration to the throne, but not as the sole foundation on which a monarchy can be founded.

As the party of Henry V. has some few rational adherents amongst the young nobility, so the party of Louis-Philippe enlists from the higher *bourgeoisie*, and the gentry, a certain number of young men of serious habits and very extensive information.

These, as a class, however, belong rather to the Young France of the old régime which they opposed, than to the Young France of the new régime, which has embraced them. They were the young men who wrote in the Globe, and frequented the salon of the Duc de Broglie; a cold, enlightened, reasonable, pale-faced set of young men, who dream of liberty in a quaker's uniform, and have a code of politics as prim as their persons.

Born to be the partisans of the juste-milieu, they support conscientiously and with intelligence, the government of Louis-Philippe, and only commit the error of mis-judging the character and the temperament of the French. They will always be respected; they can never be beloved; and in a career which will be honorable, they must resign the hope of being popular among their fellow countrymen.

I know, many of my friends in France! that you blame the juste-milieu; you detest, you abhor the juste-milieu; there is

much to say against it, I accord to you. But good heavens! to what is not one driven as an anchor from the restless nonsense which I have heard promulgated with the frantic air of philosophy, by some of those who are for launching the state vessel, rudderless, and compassless, and ballastless, on the immense ocean that lies immeasurable before you?

Monsieur D***, a young artist, a hero of July, and decorated with the blue ribbon, called on me the other morning. He hates the government—why?—"It is not noble and pure." He wishes for another—but what? "That is not his business; all he undertakes is, to destroy." Then a constituent assembly is to be called together; a constituent assembly nominated by the poorer classes, *because the poorer classes are the most intelligent.*

"Well," said I, "what would you first abolish?"

"Oh! les charges surtout! Les honnêtes hommes feront les affaires pour rien. Il ne faut point de droits, ni d'impôts, ni de police. Le peuple est conservateur; on l'a vu à Paris et à Lyon. C'est inutile de prendre des précautions contre le bon peuple."*

"And what is your especial grievance now?"

"Some people have not enough, and some have a superfluity—and this must be remedied."

"How?"

"Oh! that is not my affair. Les pères de famille arrangeront tout cela. D'ailleurs, l'éducation doit être gratuite."†

"But you say the people are already so well educated! Besides, if you educate the people, somebody will pay; if they (the people) do not, the state must; but if the state pays, there must be taxes, and then, where's your theory?"

"C'est égal!—Je rêve de belles choses; nous les verrons. Il faut chasser cette canaille; tous les gens d'énergie pensent comme moi. Il y a des associations!"‡

* Appointments above every thing. Honest men will manage the public affairs for nothing. We must have neither excise, nor taxes, nor police. The people is conservative; we saw this at Paris and Lyons. It is useless to take precautions against the people.

† The fathers of families will arrange all that. Besides, education should be gratuitous.

‡ Never mind. I dream beautiful things. We shall see them yet. But

"What is the aim of your associations?"

"To associate—to know our number."

"But have you no especial idea attached to these societies?"

"Yes; que le monde soit plus heureux."*

And many young men in France are like M. D***, and talk of great things and sublime things—vast pyramydal speculations—enormous at the base, imperceptible at the conclusion.

There they go, promising you a new future, a new political deluge, amd a new political creation; the Noahs of their time, and carrying about the ark of salvation from the Boulevards to the Palais Royal, from the Vaudeville to the Variétés—sauntering at a café—ogling a grisette—flourishing a switch—humming an opera,—telling youare a brute if you do not admire the extravagances of Victor Hugo, or a rogue if you do not confess that M. —— should be first Consul of the Republic.

Reader, if I wished to give you an idea of this section of "Young France," I could do so exactly. Look at Mlle Déjazet,† in the uniform of Napoleon!!!

There is, however, a darker and more serious group in this otherwise unimposing picture.

I have spoken of the brave and ignorant republican, of the clever and careless man of letters, of the adventurous and successful poet, of the sensitive and enthusiastic suicide, of the vain and would-be-fashionable sonneteer, of the expensive and nameless noble, of the chivalric and rational royalist, of the calm and sensible ministerialist ,of the wild and vague, and imaginative and well-meaning artist; every character I have sketched is a mirror of many more. But lo! with arms folded and lips compressed, a more thick-browed, and deep-thinking youth!

Here is the band which, from a good education and an ardent temperament, build up—with much learning and labour—impossible theories.

Strange to say, even in that science which has taught us to look with intelligence into the Heaven above our heads; which has led us from consequence to consequence through the mys-

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first, let us rout these rascals. Every body with energy thinks as I do. There are associations.

* That the world may be more happy.

† A very clever, impudent-looking little actress.

terious systems of a thousand worlds—even in this exact and sublime science, there is, (on account, perchance, of its very sublimity and exactitude,) but a deceitful guide, when we would thread the labyrinth of human philosophy, or navigate the storms of political life.

Strange to say, much that we blame as vague speculation, has been derived from logical and dogmatical conclusion. Much that we have considered as the wild ravings of a distempered imagination, has resulted from the desire to introduce a precise and mathematical absolutism into thought and action. Hence, of late years, in France, the singular, and to many, unaccountable spectacle, of the greatest theorists among men least addicted to visionary pursuits.

Go into yonder salon, where you meet the young doctors and philosophers of the hour!

This legist carries the principle of equality so far, that he believes there is no difference in intellect; that philosopher imagines the superiority of one individual over another so divine, that he would have set no limits to Bonaparte's despotism. Here is the christian geologist, who has just composed a new Genesis! There is the practical experimentalist, who has just performed a new miracle! The philosopher proves we shall have tails,* and the moralist counsels promiscuous intercourse. There is a mixture of sense and nonsense, of virtue and vice, of learning and want of sound wisdom, about this race which sometimes astonishes a foreigner, and sometimes amuses.

True; they are free from what the man of books or the man of solitude would call "ignorance." They have learned most that study teaches, or meditation inspires. But there is a knowledge of human kind and of human affairs, which the practical mingling with the one in its variety of climes and races, and the practical handling of the other, except in rare and almost miraculous instances, can alone give.

It is this knowledge which sets us on the right side of that almost invisible line which separates the possible from the impossible; the ingenious theory from the profound reality; the lofty speculation on what will never happen, from the sober

* See "New Philosophies."

and derivative divination of what is about to come to pass. It is this knowledge which elevates the sophist into the philosopher; the speculator into the statesman: it is this knowledge which alone decyphers the mysterious scroll on which Providence writes—THE NECESSITY OF THINGS.

When Pythagoras and Plato conceived the idea of preaching a philosophy to their countrymen, they considered it a necessary part of their undertaking to visit Egypt and the Indies, and to acquaint themselves with the countries, and the history, and the civilization of the countries which surrounded them. Not so the more positive and impatient founders of systems in Paris!

They live in a "set," they talk in a "set," they think in a "set," and their thoughts are thus frequently most bounded, when they conceive they are most enlarged; and their language next to unintelligible, when they deem that they have arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of perspicuous expression. They believe those ideas to be most general, which they hear most frequently repeated, and those terms to be most explicit, which they have invented as mere pass-words among themselves.

As for other countries, they never take them into account.

The wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch—always supposing that these are to affect humanity in general—are never considered but as the wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch in France.

Christianity is to disappear, and a system of universal association to take place, because there are in France symptoms unfavourable to the one, and favourable to the other. The mind of England, the mind of America, the mind of Germany, at least as influential over the world's doctrines, as that of our enlightened, but somewhat variable neighbours, are considered as natural effervescences from the solid spirit of a French imagination.

I do not say this in despite, nor am I inclined to throw even a momentary ridicule upon the powerful workings of generous and ingenuous persons, whom I believe to be actuated by the noblest desire, viz. that of elevating and improving mankind.

But the mischief of jejeune creeds, is their ever acompanying intolerance; and when I see young men, who have thought much, but who have beheld little, altogether ignorant of other lands, having but a partial knowledge of their own, necessarily unacquainted with the practice of government, not easily delivered of even their own visions of philosophy, set up unhesitatingly some newly invented standard for every man's honesty and intelligence, and deem without scruple that all who do not submit to it are rogues, or fools, or despots, or aristocrats, I own that I do feel a strong desire to speak, not against the preaching of great changes in society and religion, if the necessity for these changes should force themselves after long and deep meditation upon our sober consciences; but against the adopting hastily, and preaching intemperately, such strange and startling doctrines as those which it is impossible for the philosophers of the medical and polytechnic schools to have imbibed, except on very superficial reasonings, and very brief observation.

"Stand upon the ancient roads," says Bacon, "and see which is the good and the right one, and walk on in that."

Antiquity deserveth so much reverence as that we should rest thereupon, and first discover which is the best way; *then*—when the discovery is well made, we may take progression.

But if a man will begin with certainties, he will end with doubts; whereas, if he be content to begin with doubts, he will end with certainties.

CHAPTER IV.

Describe different classes of French society—The middle class is different in France from the middle class elsewhere, and more embued with the spirit of other classes—Still the character of the shop-keepers on the whole prevails—Chamber, Jury, National Guard, &c. in the hands of this class.

I WILL now divide what remains for me to say on this subject, into a view of the different classes of French society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

The middle class in France holds a particular position, and is different from any body that we should call by the same name in any other country.

In England the middle class is entirely composed of persons engaged in trade, the lower branches of commerce, farmers, attorneys, and persons retired from business, and living on the small capital they may have acquired in it. Their respectability is great, their views and feelings sensible and moderate, but their influence has been much exaggerated: it is crushed between the great fortunes of the aristocracy on the one hand, and the extensive elective franchise of the working classes on the other.

In America there is no especial middle class; all the nation is composed of *our* middle class. This class were its original founders, and have been its constant settlers.

In France there is a middle class, not like the nation in America, not like the middle class in this country, but a middle class composed of the ruins of an old, and the elements of a new state of society. We see there, as in those strata of the earth where we find the mingled fossils of animals, and of

fish, and of herbs, some antediluvian, the traces of a mighty shock which threw into unexpected companionship things, once heterogeneous, and buried the witnesses of a former world in the womb of the present one. Not only did the revolution of 89 break down the fortunes which separate ranks—it broke down the habits. During that terrible reign, in which a noble name was a title of proscription, the lower classes lost all deference for the upper, and the upper all contempt for the lower.

The feelings which, on either side, had kept the two portions of society apart, disappeared; and as the victories of the consulate succeeded, elevating the peasant to the command of provinces and armies, and carrying a successful soldier of fortune to the topmost pinnacle of power, even that halo which sheds itself upon the aristocratic mansion and the princely palace, descended upon the cottage. High place and great consideration obtained by a quality—which, for the very reason, perhaps, that it is the most common among men, is the most commonly respected,—high place and great consideration—the consequence of successful valour—created a nobility without ancestors, and which had frequently its relations among the humbler orders of the people.

Here the daughter of an illustrious race, brought up by a mother almost starving, with no fortune and little education, was too happy to espouse the son of a grocer, whose bill it would have been difficult to pay. Here, too, the son of a grocer, risen into a distinguished general, emulated the equipage, lived in the society, and perhaps married into one of the families of that courtly set, who enchanted the modern master with the ancient recollections of Versailles. All men had been every thing, and connected with every body, during those few eventful years, which only form half the life of this generation, but which will be the history of a republic and an empire—to posterity. The middle class in France then—I mean that class who have a moderate, or what we should call a small fortune, and move in an ordinary sphere of life—cannot be said to have altogether one particular set of habits, or one particular set of recollections, or one particular set of desires.

The seigneur has *fallen* into this class, the servant has *risen*

into it, and these changes have taken place, and this amalgamation has been brought about, not by the steady hand of Time, that great but slow revolutionist, but by the running blow of Fortune, which, altering the position of men, still leaves their manners and their memories.

Thus, though the middle class in France may to a certain degree represent what may be called the shopkeepers, still it does not wholly represent them;—while the shopkeepers themselves are not, if I may thus express myself, so completely shopkeepers as in other countries. They are more connected and more in the habit of mixing with other persons and other classes. They have less of frugality and caution, and more of elegance and luxury in their tastes and pursuits. They live in intimate companionship with the artist, the literateur, the soldier; and feel no sort of barrier, either between themselves and those who have not yet risen into their sphere, or between themselves and those whose fortunes are superior to theirs.

It is because they are not so much a body apart in France as in other countries, that they better fill the station that is assigned to them in the French nation. They have not, to the same extent, those feelings of *caste* which belong to the middling order in governments where ranks have been less mingled, and history is less violent and confused. They do not feel so alien to the lower classes, nor so distinct from the higher.

Still, the man who has sunk from opulence to mediocrity, or the man who is rising from indigence to wealth, is equally partial to order and tranquillity; and here the middle class in France, though composed so differently from that elsewhere, is moved by the same impulse. Containing the soldier, it is averse to war, and springing in part from the lower ranks of the people, it is averse to revolution. Besides, though the middle class in France is not exclusively a class of shopkeepers, though the shopkeepers in France are different in many respects from those in countries where they form a rank, as it were, of their own,—yet it is the shopkeepers who compose the most bulky and important part of this class; nor are they wholly without the feelings and disposition natural to their calling. The government of the middle class, then, is sometimes called "the government of the shopkeepers," and represents sufficient of its

characteristics, when we oppose it to what might be called "the government of the army," or "the government of the aristocracy," or "the government of the working classes," to justify such a description.

I say "the government of the middle class,"—for it is the object of the present constitution in France to give this class (though within a very limited sphere) the legal and representative power of the state. The chamber of deputies, the municipal councils, the juries, are all the representatives of this body —voting the public money, regulating the provincial administration, wielding the judicial power, and thus maintaining in the will of the government that unity, which a centralized administration gives to its force.

"The law takes a fair estimate of the different influences and opinions, which in our state of society are the most proper to advance the cause of civilization and the interest of the country. Is it necessary to say, that these opinions and these influences are the opinions and the influences of the middle classes, whose accession to power is the greatest and most prolific result of our fifty years of revolution?

"And when people, in a spirit more philosophic than politic, reproach us for not establishing between all the opinions and all the influences a perfect equilibrium—when, in the name of the people who take no part in the dispute, these persons complain that the law gives to what they call the shopkeepers a decided preponderance, they only, in my idea, declare that the electoral law, as it exists, is good, just according to the principles of the revolution, and adapted to the wants of society.

"To whom indeed ought power to be given, if not to that *bourgeoisie* of whom we speak? To the aristocracy? I am far from undervaluing the services that those classes have rendered in former times, or to deny the kind of historical pomp which still surrounds them. *But the blindest must see that the time for an aristocracy is gone by.*

"To the classes the most numerous and the poorest?

"I know not, for my own part, if these classes will ever arrive at such a degree of intelligence, of civilization, and of leisure, as will give them the power of governing instead of being governed; but this I know, that at the present time they are not arrived at this state of capacity; that at all events we must govern, not by them, but for them.

"To the middle classes, then, to the middle classes alone belongs the government of France!"

Such is the language of Monsieur Duvergier D'Hauranne, one of the most distinguished among the young deputies of the juste-milieu.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

CHAPTER V.

Aristocracy still found in the drawing-room—Driven from the forum—Origin of government of the middle class—Bonaparte's two aristocracies—Destruction of majorats—Impossibility of hereditary peerage in France—Law respecting present peerage and fault of——

"An aristocracy in France," says Monsieur Duvergier, "is gone by."

Let us go to Paris with this idea! Who is at the head of society there? The king? the court? that handsome and well-favoured prince whose apartments are so tastefully adorned in the Pavillon Marsan?

To the king, and his court—to the prince who is to be king and to have a court—behold! yonder salons of the elect are barred, banned!

To whom does the banker bow so low? To the lady in favour at the illuminated Tuileries—or the dame who receives in a dark hotel in the Rue St. Dominique?

You tell me, Monsieur Duvergier, that the aristocracy is gone by. I know no country where it is more alive—in the drawing-room.

There is a club at the corner of the Rue de Grammont, composed of the persons best known *in society* at Paris.

The Duc de Luxembourg, the type of the old aristocracy, is chosen president by a great majority.

But enter a new arena! a complimentary address is to be presented to M. de Châteaubriand. *

* On account of the pamphlet containing that famous phrase—

"Votre fils, Madame, est mon Roi,"

addressed to the Duchesse de Berri.

The address is to produce a sensation: who should present it? The young royalists hold council together.

What person do they select to place at their head—this time? Do the young journalists and bankers and *rentiers* select Monsieur de Luxembourg, or Monsieur de Fitz-James; or Monsieur de Montmorency? No; but the Duc de Luxembourg, the Marquis de Fitz-James, select—Monsieur Thomas.

"We have got a capital person," said a Carlist to me. "We have got a capital person to present the address; a Monsieur Thomas!!! Dieu merci il n'y a rien d'aristocratique dans ce nom là." *

This is the circumstance to be remarked in France, a circumstance puzzling to most strangers.

That class, which we call the aristocracy, at the same time takes the lead in private society, and the tail in public affairs.

Defeated in the market place and the forum, it has entrenched itself in the salon; and if driven from the chamber finds a consolation in breaking the hearts of the deputies' wives.

An aristocracy then and the pretensions of an aristocracy, still exist in France, where an aristocracy and its pretensions can do little harm. When I say "harm", I may be using a wrong expression.

That elegant and graceful clique which flitted but five years ago, in all the suavity of power—for it is not power that is insolent and exclusive—round the royal person; hostile as a favoured band to the interests of the people, forms as a discontented faction the best opposition to a court. They who would sneer at the just rebuke of M. Odillon Barrot, will writhe beneath the courtly satire of Madame de Noailles; and even Napoleon, after unhesitatingly crushing the constitution and the press, halted more than once before the whispered censure of a little brocaded circle, who respected his power to make kings, and smiled at his efforts to make chamberlains.

We may trace the fall, I mean the political fall, of the old nobility in France to Richelieu and to Louis XIV.; undoubtedly they humbled the pride and weakened the provincial power of the feudal chieftains; but it is singular, as an historical fact, that

* Thank God! there is nothing aristocratic in this name.

the rise of that commercial class, on which M. Duvergier states the present government to be based, and which certainly placed the present monarch upon his throne, was more especially owing to the accidental reign of a Prince of the House of Orleans.

" In the middle of a populous part of the town, between the streets of St. Denis and St. Martin, extends in the same direction an obscure passage, 450 feet long and 5 broad, bordered on either side by about ninety houses.

" It is called Rue Quincampoix; at a celebrated epoch it was called *la rue*, as Rome was called *la ville*. The two extremities of this street or passage were occupied by a guard, and fortified by an iron grate, which opened at six in the morning and closed at nine at night. The nobility entered by one end, the vulgar by another; *but the barrier once passed, the most fraternal equality reigned within.*"*

This was the vortex amidst the hissing eddies of which the materials of two revolutions were first forged.

At the head of a banking company sat Philippe, Regent of France, and grand seigneurs and sovereigns petitioned to be introduced, under such illustrious auspices, to the mines and the mysteries of jobbing.

What was an aristocracy ready to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage, and which threw the prestige of its nobility at the feet of a set of swindling Jews and brokers?—Every consideration had been sacrificed for the sake of money, and money became, in consequence, the sole measure of consideration.

In vain then were the velvet hats, and nodding plumes, and graceful mantles of the ancient chivalry of France! on the plain and simple body, which represented the interests of industry and commerce, all eyes in 1789 were fixed; and, when the Tiers-Etat declared themselves the National Assembly, every one felt that in fact they *did* represent the nation.†

* See Lemontey—Louis XV.

† Law it was who founded that reign of the *bourgeoisie* which expired with the Gironde, began recommencing after the empire, and has existed since the revolution of July, amidst, as I have elsewhere said, a variety of influences and opinions that are opposed to it.

And now, over the gorgeous superiorities of the past, roll heavily the wheels of the revolution. Napoleon, after the 18th of Brumaire, becomes first magistrate of France; but what is society around him?—to use his own expression—"a mass of pulverized ruins,"—no part does he find more solid and elevated than the rest, on which the seat that he holds may repose, or the throne to which he aspires may be raised. He sought then to form an aristocracy; but a new aristocracy—consistent with—nay, naturally arising out of—the new ideas, by which the old one had been consigned to the tomb.

In the "Legion of Honour" was incorporated a body, which, distinguished for arms and letters, possessed the two titles which at the time obtained national respect.

But the empire succeeded to the consulate: an hereditary principle was to govern the state, and not wishing that the transmission of his sceptre should be a political anomaly, Bonaparte placed the fortune of his favourites upon the pedestal to which he had raised his own power.

Hence the institution of majorats: which, lying for the most part in a conquered territory, were given with the double object of attaching the nobility to the crown, and its conquests to the empire.*

* Majorats were unknown in the old French law, and were first instituted under the imperial régime.

The emperor, by the decree of 30th August, 1806, created a number of different great fiefs, but in foreign countries, which were to be given to great services, and descend by order of primogeniture from *male* to *male*.

The alienation of these fiefs in foreign countries was authorised on the condition that other estates should be acquired in France and transmitted in the same manner.

A clause always enjoining the acquisition of such property by the man in case of defect of male issue.

This was one species of majorat.

There was also another; the emperor being authorised to create a majorat in favour of any citizen who should have distinguished himself, which majorat was to be founded with the citizen's own private property.

In respect to entails, they were first limited to the second degree by an ordonnance 1747, and afterwards prohibited 14th August, 1806. But they were again introduced by a law 3rd October, 1807, in an exceptional case thus expressed:—

"Néanmoins les biens libres formant la dotation de titres héréditaires que l'empereur aurait érigé en faveur d'un prince ou chef de famille pourront être transmis héréditairement."

In the first instance, this extraordinary personage was governed by the opinions of his time; in the second, he endeavoured to impose upon that time his own ideas.

But in the attempt to turn back the current which had carried him so far forward, even the greatest man whom history has recorded was unsuccessful; and thus the reign of Bonaparte remains—but an episode in the history of the French revolution.

Hark! at the very moment that I write, a new crash is heard among that feudal *échafaudage* which this Charlemagne of the nineteenth century sought to raise amidst the ideas of Rousseau and the recollections of the convention.*

In all these laws the emperor, as is evident, had the object in view—of creating and perpetuating an aristocracy founded on merit.

They were attacked in discussion on three different grounds:—

1. As contrary to the best principles of political economy.

2. As opposed to the best rules of legislation.

3. As hostile to the soundest interests of morality.

On the ground, it was said, that, by making any property inalienable, you took it out of commerce and circulation. The revenue of those majorats that were founded on the property of the emigrants, was valued at four millions of francs.

On the second ground, it was urged that it established in perpetuity an unequal lot amongst families, and an impediment to merit.

On the third, the numerous social evils arising out of the poverty of one part of a family, and the exhorbitant wealth of another, were demonstrated.

* LAW RELATIVE TO THE ABOLITION OF MAJORATS, AND SUBSTITUTIONS OR ENTAILS.

Article 1. All majorats are interdicted for the future.

2. All majorats, or portions of majorats, founded with private property before the promulgation of the present law, and which before such promulgation shall not have been transmitted, will return to their founders.

3. The majorats of the same nature, created before the promulgation of this law, shall only have effect in favour of those who shall be in possession of the properties thus affected, or who shall have acquired the right to claim them.

4. Nevertheless, in the case foreseen (by the article 2 above), the property cannot be alienated or mortgaged by the founder, if he is married since the creation of the majorat, or before the present law, or if, having become a widower, he has children from the marriage he contracted.

So also in respect to the incumbent, when he shall have married since the institution of the majorat.

* This and the following article were inserted in favour of the women, who, since marriages are always an affair of calculation in families, had been induced most probably to marry under such considerations and expectations.

Surely if any proof were wanting for the justification of those who, five years ago, proclaimed the impossibility of supporting an hereditary peerage in the country of which I am writing, such proof would be found in the present enactment of laws,—laws dictated less by the head than the heart of the nation,—laws the most popular among that middle class which M. Duvergier says *must reign*,—laws destroying the sole foundation on which an aristocracy of descent can be maintained.

Let us be sure of this! when there exists any body in a state, mingled up in the people's concerns, but about which the people feel no interest—a body, the opinion of which can be crushed by the will of a minister, without exciting a murmur in the nation—the persons whose titles, under such circumstances, the monarch may attach to the peerage, are of no more importance than those whose names he, with the same benevolence, affixes on the pension list. They are debtors to the royal bounty, but they are not invested with public consideration.

The object of a second chamber is the institution of a court of national appeal. For its decisions to be valid, such a court must be independent of the crown, and respected by the people; —for its decisions to be just, such a court must be intimately

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Nevertheless, the possessor of the majorat can, with the consent of his wife, dispose of the property, for the establishment of their common children, within the limits of the civil code.

5. If, at the time of the present law being promulgated, there exist expectants in succession, married since the ceation of a majorat, there shall be in their favour an exception to articles 2 and 3, and they will in consequence receive the majorat, and enjoy it in conformity with the restrictions contained in article 4.

6. The shares which the younger children or widows shall have acquired over property composing such majorats shall be preserved to them.

7. * The dotations, or the portions of dotations, consisting of property subjected to the right of returning to the state, will continue to be held and transmitted according to the article of investiture, and without prejudice to the expectations opened by the law of 5th October, 1814.

8. The disposition of the five above-named articles are applicable to the entails made in virtue of the law of 27th May, 1826.

9. Abolished in every thing contradictory to the present law the act imperial of 30th March 1806, the "*sénatus consulte*" of the 14th August following, and the decrees of the 18th of March 1808, and the law of 17th May, 1826.

* In the preceding articles mention only has been made of majorats founded on private property.

connected with the habits, the state of property, the sentiments, and the state of society in that country where it exists.

But, even before these later edicts, during the haughtiest times of the restoration, what, in France, was the hereditary chamber?

There it stood! the image of Nebuchadnezzar's idol. On its front were written great names and historical recollections; its head was of gold, but its feet were of clay.

It could not be an efficient body in the government of France, for it was not a body analogous with the society of France.

If the property of the peerage were allowed to undergo the ordinary rule of succession, royalty had before it a small number of families whom it might be necessary to gain for political purposes, and easy to gain by ministerial and courtly favours.

If, on the contrary, laws were made for the continual accumulation of wealth in these families, there was created, in a state where the whole nation was interested in a particular distribution of fortune, and the social political consequences resulting from it,—a small band, perpetually alone, and aloof from that nation—a band which must have ideas, and habits, and interests totally different from those for whom they were legislating.

Leave this body in the ordinary condition of their fellow citizens, and you deliver them into the hands of the sovereign; separate them and their children's children from their fellow-citizens, and you destroy that identity which is necessary between the governor and the governed.

Besides, in forming a chamber which ought to comprise the superiorities of a country, it is always necessary to consider what, in that country, will most readily be considered superiorities.

If ancient descent, if large fortune form those distinctions which the people most willingly acknowledge—on ancient descent and on large fortune base your upper chamber!

The possessor of a large fortune may be looked up to for protection in a country where there is a great class possessing large fortunes.

Such is still the case in England.

The possessor of ancient descent is looked up to in a country,

the great nobles of which enjoy an independent existence, and are by action and history connected with the popular cause.

Such was the case in England.

But show me a state with thirty-two millions of inhabitants, and where there are not above 1,500 landed proprietors with 1,200*l.* a year!* .

What sentiment will a great fortune, entailed on a few families, create? Respect and confidence?—no: suspicion—suspicion, because instead of being the guarantee to a large class that their condition will be maintained, these few families exist as a perpetual source of fear to the country, that its existence will be changed.

So, if I find amongst a nation become deeply attached to popular privileges, a nobility which, during the days of its grandeur was nourished by courtly favour, I know that the names which revive national antipathies will not be proper conductors to public respect?

The two conditions necessary to hereditary legislation exist not in France; and if you give, as a reason for its institution, the advantages it once produced in England, you may as well advocate the culture of the sugar cane in Norway, because it flourished in St. Domingo.

But the most amusing circumstance in the very remarkable discussion which took place a short time ago in respect to the nature of the peerage in France, was this!

All the necessities on which an hereditary assembly is founded —nobody desired. A different distribution of property, a great respect for privileged orders—God forbid!

The state of society out of which such an institution naturally arises, was declared to be abominable on all sides; it was the institution itself that a few, no doubt very wise statesmen and philosophers, wanted, without any of its effects, or any of its causes.

This isolated peerage was not to be directly connected with the country, but something separate from the country; not a

* About 939 properties pay from 4,000 to 5,000 francs—the 6th of their revenue; but as other properties joined are in the hands of the same possessor, from 1,400 to 1,500 is about the calculation.—See Introduction, France, 'Literary, Social, and Political.'—p. xvi.

body reposing upon 80,000* great proprietors—this was denounced as most atrocious—but a nice little body of 300 persons, dropping from the clouds, for there seemed nothing on earth they could arise from, and totally distinct from every body and every thing around them.

An aristocracy may be still possible and desirable in France, but not an hereditary aristocracy. For qualities that confer individual respect, individuals might be chosen, who would form a body universally respected; but these qualities would not be a pedigree posteriorating to the crusades, nor a fortune accumulated under laws at variance with the habits and ideas of the existing generation.

As the passion for military glory was stronger during the olden time than the pride of birth, so is it stronger at the present time than the pride of equality.

In the reign of Louis XIV., the court saw, without a murmur, the title of "duke," which was a right, submit to the title of "marshal," which was a gift. In the reign of Louis-Philippe, the nation elevates the distinctions of the camp above the doctrines that denounce distinctions among the people.

Nor is the sentiment inspired by success in letters, less than that which follows success in arms.

"Les dieux que nous avons maintenant," said a person of no small celebrity lately—"ce sont la science et l'art; nous sommes secoués dans les théâtres et dans la cour comme nous étions jadis dans les églises; les cœurs que nous avons enlevés aux prêtres, nous les devons tout entiers aux philosophes et aux poètes."

The French have one chamber composed of the mediocrities of their country;—a chamber neither elected by the people, who are always attached to the pomp and circumstance of talent; nor by the great proprietors, who, whatever their faults, usually take a noble aspect of public affairs. The chamber of deputies, chosen by a small body of the middle classes, represents the mediocrities of France.

If you wish for another assembly, which the king and the

* Ce n'est pas 80,000 tyrans que nous voulons imposer au pays, ce sont seulement 300 individus que nous voulons investir de hautes fonctions.—Voilà tout.—*M. Thiers.*

people shall respect, and to which the chamber of deputies can be appealed from, it must be an assembly composed—not of the superiorities of past times, nor of foreign states, but of the acknowledged and existing superiorities of France.

To create such an assembly, was the intention of those who founded the present chamber of peers; but I cannot but think there is a radical vice in the very origin of this institution.

You wish for an independent body, composed of persons whose distinctions shall impose a popular authority upon the sovereign's opinions, or give the sanction of superior capacity and intelligence to the counsels of the people's assembly.

You wish for this, and what do you do? you organize the existence of your political creation so as to cripple it at its very birth. Will those who are named by the king receive the faith of the people, or can they be firm against the sovereign's displeasure?—The head which should be crowned with popularity, is dishonoured by suspicion, and the hand that should be armed with independence, is paralyzed by gratitude.

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come—*salut!*

The chambers have adopted—we have ordained, and ordain as follows:

ARTICLE UNIQUE.—Replacing 23rd Article of the Charter.

The nomination of Members of the Chamber of Peers belongs to the King, *who can only choose* among the notabilities following.*

The number of peers is illimited.

Their dignity shall be given for life, and is not transmissible by order of nomination..

L. PHILIPPE.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

* For Notabilities, see Appendix.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Working Classes more favorable than formerly—Division of Property—Saving Banks and Associations—Population in Towns and Country—The Population in the former require Poor Laws—System existing—But though the people in towns are badly off, this is rather on account of dissipated habits than want of wages—How to remedy this—Immediate necessity for improving the Working Classes, since the Government which has passed the Aristocracy must descend to them—Police Regulations promoting order amongst them—Causes of late disorders, &c.

The monarch,* whose statue escaped the revolution of July, owes great part of his popularity to the wish, which no doubt he as honestly expressed as easily forgot, viz. "that every peasant should have a chicken in his pot for his Sunday's repast;"—and still, the desire which every philanthropist feels to arrange society under a law that shall protect the interests and advance the happiness of the multitude—and the difficulty which every legislator finds in carrying into practice such benevolent intentions—makes us look with peculiar interest on any community, whence instruction is to be derived, in this, the great lesson, to be taught the rulers of mankind.

From what I have already said of "the lower classes" in France, it may be concluded that I have formed a favourable opinion as to their condition; but I would now enter into the present state and future prosperity of this body with more detail.

What a different picture shall I have to draw from that given us by Rousseau, when quitting the divided soil of Savoy, he first placed his foot on that country over which he was destined

* Henry IV.

to exercise so powerful a sway, and which he then found in the possession of a bankrupt nobility and a starving people!

In the first place:

The period of human existence has increased by seven years, since the calculations made in 1780; and when we consider that this increase, here taken in the average, ought to be almost entirely given to the poor, who have chiefly profited by it, we shall have some idea of the increased comforts and advantages they enjoy.

And now, much that I have said on the division of property comes again under consideration.

The number of landed proprietors may, certainly, be calculated at five millions.

The number of persons, who, as the head of some trade or industry, paid the tax on patents in 1832, were 1,118,500;—add the number of persons not included in either of the above denominations, and who possess mortgages, houses, or shares of houses, or capital invested in the funds!

Surely I may say, if to these holders of patents I add the various possessors and proprietors of land, of houses, of funded property, and of mortgages, there will, at the lowest estimate, be 7,000,000 persons, which, allowing four for a family, make 28,000,000 interested, because, according to the French law of succession, a share of this property will come to them—in some species of property or other: there remain then but 4,500,000, who have not property, or the expectation of it.

How many of these have accumulated, and are still accumulating the means of independence in those banks, institutions worthy of the social epoch in which we live—banks formed by the benevolent intelligence of the rich, in order to relieve the burthens, and at the same time encourage the industry of the poor—banks already existing in Amiens, Avignon, Besançon, Bordeaux, Douai, Dunkerque, Hâvre, Lyons, Lunéville, Metz, Mulhausen, Nantes, Orléans, Paris, Rennes, Rouen, Rheims, St. Etienne, Toulon, Toulouse, Versailles,—and demanded in Annonay, Carcassonne, Cherbourg, Lille, Mâcon, Montargis, Nancy, &c. &c.

SAVINGS' BANKS FORMED.

From 1818 to 1830,	11
1832,	4
1833,	12
1834,	20
Since,	39
	86*

In 1826, eight years after the creation of these establishments, in a hundred persons depositing their savings, there were not above 16 of the working classes; in 1831, there were 43.

A considerable portion of this body indeed in Paris, has savings deposited in the savings' banks,† and a great number also belongs to some kind of benevolent society.

The progress of these benevolent societies is worthy of notice.—

From 1810 to 1830, were authorized	185
From 1830 to 1834,	32
During . . 1834,	27
	244

They are generally formed amongst workmen of the same profession, paying a small monthly contribution (from 1 to 3 francs), in consideration of which, relief is to be afforded (about 1 franc a day) when sickness, infirmity, or accident deprive them of employment.

The earliest associations of this description are:—

That of St. Anne, founded for all professions in 1694, and containing 160 members.

That of cabinet-makers founded 1760.

* It is to be remarked, that the lottery decreased in almost the same proportion—in the three first months in 1834, it had diminished by 3,687,000 francs:—it is now abolished.

† In 1830, the savings' bank of Paris alone received 93,284,325 francs, subdivided into 751,567 deposits made by different persons at different times.

That of typographists, founded 1789, possessing 80 members, and an income of 1,750 francs.

The most numerous are:—

That of the hatters, that of the paper-makers, that of the printers, and that of the painters on porcelain; some of these have a capital of 15,000 to 16,000 francs.

The persons absolutely dependent upon their daily labour for support—who if thrown out of employment have no kind of resource—must necessarily then be small. The population of the rural districts are frugal, sober, and laborious, anxious to obtain a piece of ground, or to extend that which they possess; proud of the title of "peasant" which is usually linked with that of "proprietor," simple, indefatigable and independent. Here you will hardly find a pauper, except from malady or accident.

In rural villages, indeed, I have frequently found, upon inquiry, not more than two or three poor (I mean supported by charity) in a population of 1,500—and these were persons corresponding with Mr. Cobbett's account, not unable to find work, but incapable of performing it.

In towns, however, the case is different.

M. Bigot de Morogues, in a work lately published, gives a curious notice of this distinction, and, according to him, indeed, the number of poor is almost relative to the number of large towns in any particular district.

	Beggars or Indigent.	Under the "Surveillance" of the Police.
In the towns of above 50,000 inhabitants, and in the departments they belong to, we find, he says, on 10,000 inhabitants,	1,040	170
In 26 departments which have towns above 20,000 persons, on 10,000,	560	130
In 50 departments which have towns above 6,000 persons, on 10,000,	490	110
In those departments which have no town above 5,000 persons, on 10,000,	380	60

Monsieur de Villeneuve draws similar conclusions:—

In towns of above 1,500 persons, he estimates one tenth as paupers.

And in the rest of France one thirtieth.

In the northern departments, where land is *less divided* than

in general, and cultivated with *larger capitals*, there is by far the greatest number of indigent; and in the towns of this division, pauperism has even risen to an alarming extent.

"Here," says M. Villeneuve, "the poor consist of workmen, ignorant, improvident, brutified by debauchery, or enervated by manufacturing labours, and habitually unable to support their families."

These statements are curious, for they corroborate much that we find, and which I have ventured to remark, in England—showing that in France also the greatest misery is frequently to be seen in those spots where wealth is on the most rapid increase.

A new consideration here arises, which, as it is connected with a question exciting deep interest amongst ourselves, I shall take the liberty to speak of. People have occupied themselves much with discussing whether there should be "poor laws," or whether there should not be "poor laws,"—paying little attention, for the most part, to the state of society to which such institutions are to be applied: though it is precisely that state of society which may render them altogether useless or imperatively requisite.

When we look at France, which has no law upon the subject, we find a certain necessity making regulations, and preparing the minds of men for regulations, according to the various circumstances it has to provide for.

In the rural districts, and in those rural districts more especially, where property is in the greatest degree divided, the proposition of a poor law would be treated as absurd.

Because, first;—the labourer is not altogether dependant upon wages; he has something, when out of employ, to fall back upon, and his patch of ground supplies the place of the poor's rate.

Because, secondly;—the great mass who possess property, have no fear of the small number who have nothing: and because, thirdly;—the very small number who are out of employ, and have no bit of ground, or who, from sickness or accident, are incapable of working for themselves or others, are of the same class, and frequently of the same parentage, as those from whom relief is to come; therefore no law is required

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION
OF
PUBLIC ASYLUMS, AND SUCCOUR TO PRIVATE DWELLINGS AT PARIS.

FOR THE YEAR 1832.

DETAILS OF INFORMATION.		TOTAL.
General Population of Paris, according to the census of 1831.		770,286
Indigent Population of Paris.		68,986
Proportion of the indigent to the general Population.		1 to 11,165
Indigent families succoured.	Annually.	20,301
	Temporarily	11,422
	Total.	31,723
Individuals composing indigent families.	Men.	16,167
	Women.	28,021
	Boys	12,096
	Girls	12,702
	Total.	68,986
Civil condition, or social relation of the heads of indigent families.	Married Persons.	13,173
	Widowers	12,875
	Bachelors	4,350
	Deserted Women	1,325
	Born in Paris	[illegible]

oblige persons to an act of duty and charity, which their own ling, and affection, or the opinion of all around them would apel them to perform.

ut just in the degree that you approach other places, where abourer has nothing to depend upon but his wages—where ossessors of wealth are few, and naturally in dread of the eration of the greater number;—and where, moreover, the rent distribution of fortune has so separated the classes, as the poor can appeal to no one among the rich, except on e regulation made among the rich themselves;—there you rve, as in the Department du Nord, for instance, where the test capitals are found, and where four towns,

Lisle, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Dunkirk,	Population. 121,309.

nish 36,230 paupers;—there, I say, you observe, to use the rds of M. Villeneuve, *que la taxe des pauvres s'est forcent introduite;*—and so, let people reason as they will, it st introduce itself, as a wise and prudent policy of the althy, wherever society is fluctuating, and the many have hing to depend upon more certain than their casual emyment.

Paris, the natural reservoir for the enterprize of the kingdom, t of 3,347 persons relieved in one of the arrondissements of ris (1834), 2,196 were not of Parisian birth, and 179 not of nch extraction), gives no idea of the state of tranquil sufiency which prevails throughout the country in general; but s there, that the present system for the relief of the poor is st developed. and can best be studied.

The budget of that metropolis contains a charge of ,186,388 fr. for the poor;* the aid given being under the llowing heads:

* This charge is supplied by the following sources:—

evenus en argent, loyers, fermages, etc.	1,136,271
ermages en nature.	295,000
entes sur l'état.	1,201,472
Carried forward	2,632,743

1. Public establishments, 24; 13 being hospitals destined to the sick, and containing 5,337 beds; and 11 *hospices* or houses where the indigent and infirm may be received to the number of 11,740 persons.

2. Relief sent to persons at their own houses.

3. Les enfans trouvés.

The movement, 1833, of the population in these establishments, was as follows :

	Hospitals.	Hospices.	Total.
Individuals there 1st Jan.	4,170	9,557	13,727
Admitted during the year.	61,765	3,190	64,955
	65,935	12,747	78,692

To these numbers are to be added—

1. Enfans trouvés, in the country or at Paris, on the 1st Jan. (orphans included).	17,435
2. Enfans trouvés, abandoned during the year.	5,693
3. Children placed out to nurse by the bureau des nourrices.*	1,760
4. Indigent assisted at home.	68,986
Total number altogether being	172,566 †

Report	2,632,743
Rentes sur les particuliers.	11,000
Dons et legs.	100,000
Intérêts de capitaux.	12,000
Journées de malades, pensions payées pour l'admission.	386,100
Produits intérieurs, successions hospitalières.	81,200
Mont-de-Piété.	231,970
Spectacles.	600,000
Marchés créés.	296,300
Recettes diverses.	30,000
Subvention par la Ville de Paris.	5,238,000
Subvention par le département pour les enfans trouvés.	400,000
Subvention extraordinaire pour grands travaux.	92,000
Emploi des capitaux de l'administration.	75,075
	10,186,388

* A bureau to which persons desiring children to nurse can apply. The applicants are submitted to certain regulations, and must be monthly examined.

† *i. e.* one to eleven persons in Paris, double the proportion which the poor bear to the population in France in general.

There are also at the outskirts of Paris, large establishments, or houses of repression, where all persons, without employment or profession, are received—but these originally intended as charitable, are almost become penal institutions, and chiefly contain persons whom the police deem it expedient thus to dispose of.

The most interesting part of the statement I have entered into, is that relating to the aid given the indigent at their own houses, and which is extended, as it appears, to no less than 68,986 individuals; concerning whom I refer to the annexed statement.

This relief is chiefly administered in kind, and mostly through the medium of tickets upon the baker, the butcher, &c.; relief in money being reserved chiefly for the aged and infirm.

This is done by the aid of 12 bureaux of charity or benevolence, one to each of the arrondissements of Paris.

These bureaux are under the superintendence of the prefect of the department, and the council general, which has charge of the general administration of the hospitals, hospices, etc.

Each bureau is composed:

1. Of the mayor of the arrondissement (as president), and his two adjuncts; of the curate of the parish, and his desservans (curates or assistants).

2. Of 12 other administrators named by the Minister of the Interior, renewed every year by one-fourth, according to the order of their nomination.

3. Of an indefinite number of visiters to the poor, and "ladies of charity" (ladies who give up their time to charitable pursuits) named by the bureau, but not assisting at its deliberations, except when invited.

4. In those arrondissements where there is a protestant church, of the protestant clergyman.

5. Of a responsible agent, under the title of secretary and treasurer, who receives a salary and is obliged to give security.

Out of Paris—

Houses of repression, as established in 1793,* have been

* By a decree of the 20th of May, 1790, two convents were provisionally

which states many particulars relative to the class I am describing at Paris.

As it may be seen from this table, the characteristic weakness of the working classes in France is the desire for amusement, and for such amusements as cannot be enjoyed without expense. They waste the Sunday, very frequently the Monday or Tuesday, in the guinguettes, the theatre; there is no control over this habit. There is no duty, no passion to counterbalance it, for there is no religion, or little religion, in the cities more especially; neither has the education hitherto given to the working classes, offered more intellectual resources than the tavern at the *barrière*, or the *spectacle* on the Boulevards. The child, taking to any trade, having received little instruction during his boyood, starts at eighteen, to make the tour of France. He passes from town to town, contracting, as it is easy to suppose, more vices than virtues in his way, and ends either by settling in the capital or returning to his native town, with the information he has thus acquired.

It does not so often happen, then, that a fair subsistence cannot be acquired in the towns, as that it is either extravagantly expended, or not sought to be procured. The evil to remedy is a moral evil, which can only be remedied by moral improvement. The new law on education must produce its effect; but there is a particular species of education adapted to the working classes, adapted especially to the working classes of France, and which, existing in France, to a certain extent, it is to be expected, that an intelligent and philanthropic government will attempt to improve. If you tell the man and his wife, who are just starting off for their Sunday's debauch, that they would do much better to come and hear a lecture on painting or chemistry, they will not be likely to listen very patiently to your injunction. But if you show them a beautiful picture, explain its subject, mark and make them remark the characteristics, and the talents of the artist, they will receive your lesson as an amusement, and have the satisfaction of learning without the suspicion of being taught. The same may be said of chemistry, even of astronomy, the illustrations of which I remember seeing when a boy, with a kind of mysterious

NOTICE OF EACH OF THEM, IN THEIR SOCIAL HABITS.

PROFE… OBSERVATIONS. TRA…		GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEVERAL PROFESSIONS.		
Carpenters		NO.		OBSERVATIONS.
House Joi…		1	Carpenters.	It is to be well understood, that the hours of labour pointed out only apply to the fine season of the year, with respect to workmen employed in house-building. In bad weather, they work according to the length of day, and a deduction is made from their wages, for the difference between the hours of *actual* labour, and the time of labour *required of them*. The line of difference, in respect to house-joiners, arises from th… n
		2	House-Joiners.	
		3	Tilers.	
		4	Masons.	
		16	House-Painters	
Tilers..				
Masons.				
	men masons earn 2 francs.			
Stonecutte…				
Glaziers.				
Shoemaker…				
Hatters.				
Tailors.				
Nappers.				
Cotton-Spi…				
Cabinet-M…				
Paper-stai…				
Upholsterer…				

them such relaxations as will not withdraw them from industry nor deprive them of their comforts.

I reme[illegible] when a boy, with a kind of mysterious

pleasure, resembling, but far exceeding, that which I should have received from a play.

Monsieur le Chevalier, an officer in the engineers, of very considerable attainments, instituted shortly after the revolution of July a gratuitous course of lectures upon this plan, and especially adapted to the working classes. These lectures were delivered in the Theatre Molière, and attended by about 3,000 of the working classes of Paris. M. le Chevalier would sometimes conduct these men to the Louvre, point out to them the pictures most deserving attention, recount the history of the artist, the subject of the piece, and every day so entertaining a professor found himself surrounded by new disciples.

It is to be regretted that these lectures, which commenced with the simple intention of improving the moral condition of the poor, were afterwards converted to political purposes. The government then found itself obliged to discourage them, and M. le Chevalier himself abandoned his voluntary professorship. Since which time, though still continued, they are little attended, and only exist as a memorial of what might be achieved on a similar plan, and which, if instituted by the government, would be under its controul.*

It may be asked, of what use is painting, of what use is history or chemistry to the poor? I answer, that all knowledge is useful in softening the mind, in opening the intelligence;—all knowledge is useful moreover which comes as a substitute for some more vicious gratification. But a practical illustration is

* I shall be much misunderstood, if it be supposed that I mean to deny amusements to the poor, and condemn them, as the condition of their destiny, to unceasing toil. But there are amusements which elevate the character, and there are amusements which debase it; amusements which strengthen the body, amusements which enfeeble it. There are expenses also which lead to improvement and comfort, as there are expenses which lead to idleness and want. The money spent in drinking, which is an amusement, is better spent on a book, which, read to the family, is an amusement also. A more comfortable piece of furniture, a larger and more healthy apartment, warmer clothing;—these are not amusements certainly, but the poor man would frequently do well in these respects to sacrifice a day's pleasures, in order to procure what will add considerably to his year's happiness. It is not that I wish to circumscribe the relaxations of the poor there, I only wish to give them such relaxations as will not withdraw them from industry nor deprive them of their comforts.

now before me;—the best proof for or against a disputed theory.

Travel over France, visit every great town of that great empire, where will you find the working classes most decent in their behaviour, most respectable in their appearance? at Metz: and why at Metz? There, there are lectures established and supported by the respectable inhabitants and officers of the town,—lectures on chemistry, history, etc.*

The change which has been produced among the working classes of Metz by these means is something marvellous. It is to be traced immediately in their manners. If you meet a working man, you find him polite, polished, correct in his language, easy without being confident in his conversation. You would take him, if he were not worse dressed and better informed, for a respectable *bourgeois* of Paris.

There seems, I admit, something theoretical in these projects of excessive perfection; but in France—attention is invited to them, not by any benevolent dream of distant philanthropy, nor any prospective consideration for future generations. The wisdom and policy of the day, of the hour, call the legislature to active and incessant preparation for that great scheme of democracy, now in the first stage of its development, but which is likely, even during the lifetime of us whose eyes are now open—to have a prosperous or fatal trial.

There is that sanctity in great names and deeds, there is so natural and almost holy a veneration implanted in us for antique recollections and superstitions, that it is possible for society long to make a stand on the line which separates the mass from the nobility. But that barrier once passed, who can for a moment pretend that all others will not shortly give way? Monsieur Thomas and Monsieur de Montmorency stand already in the same position before the state;—can Monsieur Thomas, who pays 200 frs. of direct taxes, and Monsieur Thomas, who pays 100 frs. stand long in a different one?

It is to this sentiment of their force—and also to the presen-

* Every person may have a ticket on applying for it; but if he misses *three* times, his name is erased from the list, and the ticket is forthwith refused to him.

timent of their destiny—it is to the conviction (forced on them from the tribune, and the stage, by the press and the revolution of July)—it is to the conviction that they have a power unacknowledged by the state, which power is daily becoming greater, that we may attribute those transient disorders that for the last four or five years have broken out among the working classes, —now exercised against the government, now against their masters.

Few countries, indeed, are so called upon to watch over their manufacturing population, as that France which adds all the fickleness and fierceness of its own character to the frequent variations and occasional severities of commerce.

Prior to the first revolution, all disputes between the different orders in trade were confined to the corporations which had each their own banner, (forming thus—so few institutions are there without their precedent—a species of national guard) their own government, their own laws, their own hierarchy—an hierarchy which repressed industry, but regulated its movements, and infused the conservative spirit of an aristocracy into the breast of the artisan and the mechanic.

The revolution which visited the chateau did not spare the workshop—those bodies, the constitution of which it might have been wiser to alter and modify, were at once destroyed. None could any longer say that their talents were unacknowledged and repressed by the society they belonged to; but none could any longer say that they belonged to a society which had a right to redress their grievances and relieve their wants.

These old associations—condemn them as we may—gave to every class and to every age an assigned and an expected place. The lad on quitting his parents found a family in the profession into which he entered—a family which profited by his labour, and provided for him when he was incapable of finding employment. The master and the workmen then united together to support their trade, instead of struggling, as now, to divide its profits. Industry was confined within certain channels and order given peculiar securities.

The abrupt abolition of a vast assemblage of old laws, some of which must, even from their long continuance, have created necessities—was followed shortly afterwards by a succession of

new laws, having for their object the restoration of that discipline which had been too suddenly disarranged.

The decree of 22 Germinal an XI (12 April, 1803), and of 9 Frimaire (1 December, 1803), established the livret—a certificate which every workman, under the penalty of being treated as a vagabond, is obliged to have.* On this certificate is written his age, the place of his birth, and the name of the person whom he last served, or to whom he was apprenticed.

Here too the money he receives, the debts he incurs, the agreements he enters into, the character he has deserved, are all recorded.† On quitting one master, he presents it to the other, whose service he is about to enter:—the manufacturer knows the antecedents of the man he employs, the police, of the man who travels, *soi-disant*, in search of employment. In this manner the surveillance of the old corporations has been in some degree restored; so also, in some respect, have been their tribunals.

Formerly the mayors, or *échevins des villes*, sometimes the syndics, used to decide upon the disputes between workmen and their masters. Such disputes are now decided by the *conseils des prud'hommes*, first formed 18th March 1806. These judges, composed in a fair proportion of manufacturers, *chef d'ateliers*, and workmen, form a popular court, of which it is difficult to over-estimate the utility.

At Lyons in 1828, out of 3,362 cases, all, except 22, were terminated at once, without expense, to the satisfaction of both parties; and the jurisdiction of these councils, the best proof of their advantage, has been extended from affairs of 60 to affairs of 100 francs.

Owing, as many believe, to such regulations, there were not in France, until within a very few years, any of those disputes between the manufacturer and his workmen, against which we have abandoned all hopes of legislating.‡

In a report of the committee appointed in 1819 to inquire

* The livret has been extended to soldiers and servants in large towns.

† On entering any service, the master writes the date on the livret; it must be visited by the police within twenty-four hour.

‡ Any violent attempt at raising wages subjects the participator to one, two, or three months' imprisonment, the promoter to three, four, or five years' imprisonment.

into the exposition and the state of manufactures, I find it especially asserted.—"que la France a le bonheur de n'être point affligée par ces dissensions, qui, dans d'autres contrées, divisent la classe ouvrière et les manufacturiers qui la font travailler."

And if the artisan be less satisfied now, it is not because the events that have since occurred have lowered his fortunes, but because those events have increased his expectations, and given him the idea that his situation is to be raised by a greater share of power from the government, and a greater share of profit from the capitalist.

The same cause is at the bottom of the associations which are for procuring the "rights of man," and the heightening of wages—an equality, first founded on theories, and now daily establishing itself in practice.

EQUALITY.

CHAPTER VII.

Equality to be discovered in the preceding Chapters—King of England first gentleman in his kingdom—King of the French first citizen—The effect of law does in France what the law did by compulsion in Florence—Social advantages of equality—Political results uncertain—Struggle between opinions and manners, between local government and centralization.

What have we seen in France? A popular literature that acknowledges no privileged order of critics; a cheap press that addresses itself to all classes of readers; a church establishment that embraces all sects of religion; strange philosophies founded on the association of all capacities; a soil partitioned amongst all ranks of persons; an upper class, whose exclusive pretensions are treated with ridicule; a middle class possessing great political authority; a working class almost independent, and demanding an increase of riches and power.—And are not these things the sign of that fact which I take as a title to this chapter?

"The King of England," said M. Odillon Barrot, "is the first gentleman in his kingdom;—the King of the French is the first citizen." The one is the chief of a long aristocratic hierarchy, the other the ruler over a people who recognize no other than personal distinctions.

The principle of equality as understood, and as existing in France, is this—A man *may* be every thing; but he has *no right* to be any thing; he may be every thing *by ability*, he has no right to be any thing *by privilege*.

What is the question you ask of any one in England?—*Is he gentlemanlike?*

What is the question you ask of any one in France?—*A-t-il de l'esprit?*

In these two questions lie the genius of two nations, which I do not compare, but contrast.

In one, the nobility descends into the arena where power is acquired by talent.

In the other, talent, as the consequence of its power, mounts into the nobility.

Does any one want to know what is republican in the institutions of the French?

That which the law did by compulsion in the republican days of republican Florence, is the simple effect of the law in the intelligent days of monarchical France.

The Capponis were enrolled on the books of the plebeians, and the Fizt-James's have descended into the Chamber of Deputies.

"Tous les hommes naissent égaux et libres; aucun d'eux n'a plus de droit que les autres de faire usage de ses facultés naturelles ou acquises; ce droit commun à tous n'a d'autre limite que la conscience même de celui qui l'exerce, laquelle lui interdit d'en faire usage au détriment de ses semblables."

These were the words of Mirabeau in proposing that famous declaration of "the Rights of Man," with which the discussions of the National Assembly opened, and which the existing government has ultimately adopted.

For the pleasures of society,—and by society I mean every relation of social intercourse,—there is certainly no comparison between the effects of those feelings which, in France, bring to

the same table every variety of character and station, and the effects of those opposite feelings which, in England, draw a barrier as fearful as the Rubicon between Mr. Roberts and Mr. Rogers, who are both wholesale or retail dealers in mutton suet.

There is a fretfulness about every man's position with us, which is positively frightful. He is never easy, for there is always some little line of demarcation between himself and his neighbour, which he toils to pass over. The aristocracy descends through every link, from the golden to the copper of the country. The Duke of Devonshire is not more exclusive than the Duke's poulterer. Society is a long series of little uprising ridges, which, from the first to the last, offer no valley of repose. Wherever you take your stand, you are looked down upon by those above you, and reviled and pelted by those below you. Every creature you see is a farthing Sisyphus, pushing his little stone up some Liliputian molecule. This is our world!

The social advantages, then, that result from equality, are great; the political consequences that may arise from it are more uncertain.

For there is this to be said of the French: a marked difference exists between the ideas and the habits of that people.

The ideas date from the revolution of 1789; the habits develop a longer history.

The ideas prevent the grand seigneur from assuming a superiority over the stockbroker. The habits have carried down to the stockbroker all the luxuries and some of the airs of the grand seigneur.

Who has the best box and the prettiest dancers at the opera? Who has the best horses at the race course? Who is "the fashionable," the *petit marquis* of the epoch?

That young "agent-de-change," whose outspread coat-skirts obscure the fire at the club in the Rue de Grammont, dressed with a simple pretension, and talking, with a doctrinal air, of the merits of lobster soup, and ministerial stability.

The Hotel de Montmorency has not been destroyed, but let out in apartments, and you see the traces of the ancient régime in modern society, as you find on modern furniture those cu-

rious and beautiful old damasks which decorated our grandfather's apartments.

The struggle then, is, and has been since the directorship of Barras, between new opinions and old manners.

Equality is in itself neither republican, as some people believe, nor anti-republican as others suppose. It is republican among the poor, anti-republican among the rich; the first it makes jealous of power,—the second it makes anxious for place.

The opinions that agitate one body would establish a democracy—the desires that prevail among the other would re-establish a court. What reigns is a system of compromise. There is no hereditary House of Lords, and there is a very unpopular law of election. The lower classes are excluded from the government, because the middle have not left an upper. Nor is this all; where there is no aristocracy to ease the government of part of its affairs, there must either be an active and intelligent democracy ruling in every village, or a powerful administration concentrated in the executive authority. As the government at one time stripped the people of power, so the people have lately been acquiring some rights from the government. But still there is a conflict here—not, as with us, between the middle orders, who begin to proclaim equality, and the upper who would maintain privileges; but between the community who demand greater local authority, and the minister who contends for preserving centralization.

BOOK VI.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

"The very best administration must encounter a great deal of opposition, and the worst will find more support than it deserves."—BURKE. *Thoughts on French Revolution.*

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER VIII.

La Révolution a désossé la France—Idea of the Convention—of Bonaparte—Circumstances of France and England in respect to centralization—Late changes in system in France—Existing administration.

EVERY thing in France is small; France itself is great.

Individual existence in this country is insignificant; for where there are no prejudices of birth, no great fortunes, no established and fixed positions, as it were, one man is the centre of but a small circle of considerations. Nor are there any bodies, so formed and organized, as to interpose between the great masses of the community, and the executive power of the state. The first revolution, to use an expression attributed to Mr. de Talleyrand, *unboned France.* The great corporations, to which I have alluded, and so also the ancient provincial divisions and administrations, every institution, in short, which, having local power, placed any check upon, or created any barrier against central power, was swept away.

All that law could alter—habits and manners are not within its immediate jurisdiction—it did destroy and alter in a mo-

ment. Nor was the terrible Triumvirate, over whose doors were written—"liberty, indivisibility, and death," without a great idea; an idea always difficult to realize, difficult then, but pressed upon their attention by foreign war, domestic discord, and that turbulent and sanguinary spirit which it was at once their object to nourish and control. "Liberty to all, tyranny over all," was in fact their motto—words not so incompatible as we may suppose; for they simply determine, that in proportion to the check which the people have on the government, should be the power which the government has over the people.

What the men of those times wished, was to make the authority which they said should represent the masses, strong; the citizens over whom that authority extended, equal.

An enemy's bayonets gleamed on their frontier, a hostile aristocracy lurked in their capital, jealous rivalries agitated their provinces. To drive back that enemy, to put down that aristocracy, to tranquillize those jealousies one thing was wanted—a system of centralization. Who shall blame them for adopting it?

Bonaparte arrived with a genius just proper to consolidate and regulate what his predecessors in the revolution had conceived; but into their plans he carried a new idea.

He looked at things with the eye of a great captain.

He saw less, perhaps, the necessity of making the nation, over which he was to rule, powerful, than that of giving a quick and rapid impulsion to its power. What he wished was to have a government that vibrated at his touch, whose whole force he was able to combine instantaneously, and to drive in one direction. Hence the civil and military system of the empire, intended to unite so many radii round a common centre, by the action of which they were all to be imperatively controlled.*

There have been various doctrines propounded, of late

* The principle of centralization, though established on very different grounds, pervades, to a certain extent, our own government, though this fact is generally overlooked. A committee of the House of Commons is but a bad tribunal to decide upon the propriety of provincial improvement. Here, however, the supreme authority is the popular assembly; in France it is the executive power.

years, amongst ourselves, as to the excellencies or evils of that system of unity under which French affairs are administered, and many have considered that we have something to learn, in this respect, from our neighbours, while others have thought that they had rather much to imitate and adopt from us. In any consideration we give this subject, let us carefully separate the circumstances of the two countries to which we would apply the same principles.

I have already spoken of the differences naturally created by a great landed gentry, who, from their property and station, take the place of the government, at is were, and are frequently able to discharge its duties: besides, heavy hands have weighed on England. The dominion of the Tudors coming at a time when, enfeebled by her civil dissensions, she was plastic to every impression, destroyed many of the differences then remaining of her ancient divisions. And now, the multiplication of roads, of canals, the facility and the expedition of conveyances, have so mingled and mixed up the various provinces together, that a slight accent is all that continues to distinguish their inhabitants one from another. England, moreover, defended by her insular position and her maritime superiority, has no occasion, in the administration of her civil government, to consider what may be required as a security from foreign aggression. France, on the contrary, is a continental empire, more likely than any other, from its situation, and the character of its inhabitants, to be called to arms, and demanding, therefore, even in the administration which is to govern it in peace, an attention to the administration which might be required in the event of war; moreover, it is impossible for the most casual observer who visits them not to be struck by the motley character of those various races now collected under one sway, and held together by the Northern Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Rhine. The Breton speaks of France and the French as distinguished from himself, and tells you that a Frenchman has bought this château, or lives at that place. In a great part of France, French is not the language spoken by the people; the west, since the revolution of 1830, may be looked upon as a hostile and subdued country. Ruled by its priests and its women, served by its chivalric nobility and its

martial peasantry, superstitious, adventurous, determined, difficult to be subdued,—the institutions which made it independent would render it hostile and dangerous. To keep the fanatic south, the irreligious north, the republican east, and the royalist west together and quiet, no doubt a strong government, quick in its action, and determined in its purpose, is necessary, and no wise Frenchman would desire a perfection in the laws of a country that would tend to the disorganization and dissolution of the state.

Looking, then, at the equality among the French people, which prevents the local government of an aristocracy—at the position and divisions of France, which render dangerous the uncontrolled local government of a democracy—centralization, if an evil, is almost an evil of necessity, and cannot be abandoned, though, perhaps, it may yet be capable of further modification. Already, as I have said, many changes have taken place since the destruction of the empire, and more especially, since the revolution of July, and over these changes a spirit of wisdom and moderation has prevailed. To maintain the unity of the state, to stimulate the energies of the provinces, and to set bounds to the authority of the executive government, seem to be the triple object under which these alterations ought to have been undertaken, and have been accomplished.

Here the general councils have been made elective, the judges immoveable. There, the formation of a local force, on popular principles, has placed a check upon the unlimited power of the regular soldiery.

But as the best key to this subject, I will give a rapid sketch of the civil and military administration of the country.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER IX.

Minister of Finance and system of Taxation—Minister of Justice and Judicial system—Minister of Police, and the origin, effect, and attributes of that office—Minister of Commerce, Commercial Chambers, etc.—Minister of Instruction, system of education, etc.—Minister of the Interior, and departmental and governmental divisions.

FINANCE.

In the Minister of Finance centres the administration of the public revenue, the national debt, and the mint.

He superintends the assessment and collection of taxes, direct and indirect; and as the centre to whom all the other ministries address their accounts, seems the most proper to mention first.

It is after having received the estimates of the different administrations, that this minister determines how much will be requisite for the service of the coming year, and proposes in advance a budget accordingly.

The budget of the state fixed, the object is to secure its payment: and in order to understand how this is done, it is necessary to know from what sources the public revenue proceeds.

The most important of these are the direct and indirect taxes. The direct taxes are:

1. The house and land tax, in proportion to the clear annual income.

2. The poll tax, extending to all but the very poor, and amounting to the value of three days' labour.

3. The door and window tax.

4. The licences to trade.*

From the nature of these taxes, it is necessary, first, to provide for their distribution, and secondly, for their perception.

In respect to the distribution, the minister proposes to the chamber in his budget the contingent of each department for land tax, poll tax, and window tax. The councils of the departments fix the proportion to be paid by their arrondissements, and the councils of the arrondissements the proportion to be paid by their communes.†

A list of tax-payers is drawn up every three years, stating the names of each individual, and the nature and the amount of the taxes to which he is liable.

This list, annually supervised, is signed by the prefect every year, on or before the 12th of January, and then becomes available. The direct taxes are made payable by twelfths, and the tax-payer can be called upon the first of every month for the taxes of the months previous.‡

Such taxes are collected by collectors named in every department by the minister of finance, out of a list presented by the prefect; § and every tenth day, in large towns at shorter periods, they must pay the sums levied to authorities appointed for that purpose. These authorities are stationed in every arrondissement, under the title of receivers of arrondissement, and are all subordinate to the receiver-general of the department, who is responsible for their integrity.**

The indirect taxes are:

1. On drink (i. e. wine, beer, and spirituous liquors). 2 Produce of the sale of the monopolies of gunpowder and to-

* The licences must be paid for when issued, except in some particular cases.

† The prefect fixes the house tax in the departments, and the sub-prefect in the arrondissements.

‡ Those who have not paid their twelfth on the first of the month are liable to proceedings, which consist 1. Of a notice.—2. Summons.—3. Seizures.—4. Sale.

§ They must, however, be consented to by the receivers, who are responsible for them.

* * A commune which has a revenue of 20,000 frs. has a receiver also.

bacco.* 3. Tenth of all the commercial octrois. 4. Miscellaneous.—Public carriages.—Cards.—Salt at the pits, and in the country.—On stamps guaranteeing the quality of articles fabricated in gold and silver.—On passage of bridges, &c. 5. Registration stamps. † 6. Post and lottery.‡

The machinery of receipts is the same as for the direct taxes.

Directors of direct and indirect taxes are appointed to superintend the method of perception; and functionaries, called "inspectors general," who, travelling over the country, may take any district by surprise, keep a watchful and constant control over the accounts.

But the finance ministry is not only charged with the collection of the public revenue, it is also charged with the payment of the public expenses. The machinery it employs is therefore of a double nature.

By the side of the "receiver general" of the department, there is a paymaster for the department also. The receivers are in fact the government *bankers*, and the paymasters the government *agents*.

The receiver general, for instance, has so much in hand, on account of the treasury, in his department. The treasury issues a mandate, or draws a draft, in favour of the paymaster, to be applied to a particular use: the paymaster receives the money and executes the commission.

But as the speedy transition of the funds, from the public debtor to the public creditor, is the great object of the government, a board is established, called the "bureau des fonds," for this special purpose. Every ten days the accounts of the receivers general are sent to this board, which thus knowing the funds that the state has to dispose of, in each part of the

* The persons allowed to sell these articles, take them from the government at a certain price, and are allowed, as their remuneration, to sell them at another.

† The rest of the receipts is composed of the revenues of public lands, of falls of timber, produce of the contract from gaming-houses, profits from coinage, &c.

‡ Lottery is now abolished.

country, transmits a daily account thereof to the ministry, according to which the public payments are regulated.*

The different state establishments in each of the eighty-six departments, therefore, whether military, clerical, or judicial, are defrayed, as far as possible, by the receipts of that part of the country in which they are situated.†

The speedy collection, secure deposit, and rapid payment of the public money, being thus provided for, the only remaining thing to desire, is the clearness and correctness of the accounts through which these different movements of cash are to be traced.

The system of accounts in France, to which our attention was first called by Sir H. Parnell, has since that time considerably occupied the attention of parliament; and Dr. Bowring, commissioned for that purpose, has published reports that might be more clear and less voluminous, perhaps, but which are still highly interesting and creditable to their author.

The merit of the French accounts is in their system; a system which comprises the utmost detail on the one hand, and the utmost centralisation on the other.

To effect this—the first thing necessary is that all accounts, based on a recapitulation of the most minute particulars, should be kept by all parties in certain similar and specified forms, and ultimately brought under one well-devised control.

The persons who receive for the receivers, the receivers, and the receivers-general themselves, must all then maintain a general journal and ledger, in which every transaction is first entered, as it takes place, and afterwards copied out in an organized shape under leading heads. The copies of these journals and ledgers, together with the statement for which they furnish the materials, are transmitted at short intervals to the ministry of finance, as are the receipts and vouchers of the paymasters. In that office they are entered, and centralised in the books of the cashier general, who is at the head of the

* The minister, therefore, can see at a glance, what funds are disposable in every part of the empire.

† But, as this cannot always take place, a transfer of revenue is sometimes necessary; and this transfer is calculated to cost annually 2,900,000 frs.

receivers general, and in the books of the paymaster general, who is at the head of the paymasters.

Thus, every fact, whether of receipt or payment, is a matter of daily record and of arranged report to the central financial authorities; while the cashier's and general paymaster's accounts are again centralized by being brought before a board; called the "comptabilité générale!" which compares every statement and looks into every account.

The Cour des comptes,* as a judicial board, acts finally as a check upon the "comptabilité générale," which is purely a financial board; and as the one sees whether the different transactions are rightly stated, so the other determines whether they formally and legally took place.

It is after this various superintendence that the public accounts come back at last, collected into the hands of the minister, by whom they were originally proposed, and who is charged with their defence.

It is impossible, in so short a space, to do more than give this

* This court is composed of a first president and of three presidents of chambers, of eighteen master councillors, and eighty referee councillors, of a king's advocate and a chief clerk; and was first organised during the empire, in September, 1807.

For its ordinary business, the court is divided into three chambers, each composed of a president and six master councillors.

The first, or chief president, presides over the chambers united, or when he pleases, over any particular chamber. He distributes the accounts to the referees, and indicates the chamber to which they are to make their report. He has, in short, the general control of his court and the three chambers. In his absence his place is supplied by the senior president of the other chambers.

The presidents have the direction of the business of their respective chambers; and distribute to the master councillors who form them, the affairs or the accounts of which they are to report.

The referee councillors are charged with the verification of the accounts submitted to them, and may be said to fulfil the duty of auditors as well as accountants.

The king's advocate takes care that the public officers and receivers transmit their accounts within the period prescribed by law. He also sees that the chambers hold their sittings regularly, and that the referees do their duty. It is to him that the prefects address the public accounts of their departments when there are any disputes concerning them. The correspondence with the ministers for the execution of the decrees or orders of the court, is also entrusted to him.

The chief clerk receives the accounts and vouchers from the public officers, and has the charge of all papers.

general outline,* which will, however, suffice to show the main parts of that machinery by which the cash concerns of a mighty state are conducted with a precision and regularity that is rare in the affairs of a private commercial establishment.

It now only remains to notice the local expenses.

These are in part defrayed by a portion of a general tax, proposed by the minister in his budget, and called centimes additionnels,† a certain amount of which, set apart for such charges, is paid by the receivers to the paymasters who defray them. What remains is met by the budgets of the departments, of the towns of chef-lieu, and of the communes.

The budgets of the departments have for receipts the centimes additionnels, which they vote as supplementary to those I have already mentioned, as voted for their use by the chambers.

Their expenses are those of the prefecture, central houses of detention, royal departmental roads, &c.

The towns of chef-lieu have the same species of receipt and expense as the communes, and it is to the budget of the latter that we ought especially to look for local expenses.

These budgets, which must be approved by the sub-prefect, if the commune has only 100 francs ordinary revenue; by the prefect, if from 100 to 100,000 francs; and by a royal ordinance, if above that sum, are all transmitted to the minister of finance, who has thus before him the whole expenses, local as well as general, of the kingdom.

The revenues of the communes are ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary revenues are: five additional centimes on each individual, claims on licences, fines for various misdemeanours, fines for non-service in the national guard, funds, customs, right of location in halles, fairs, markets, ports, walks, &c., fees for administration acts, income from woods, contributions to the service of the highways.

The extraordinary revenues are: credit balance of last account, interest of funds invested in the treasury, sale of

* I have endeavoured to disembarrass this statement as much as possible, from all minor details.

† The centimes additionnels consist of 36 cents. on the land tax; 36 on the personal and furniture tax; 16 on the house and windows; 4 on the patents.

moveables, immoveables or funds, legacies and donations, price of extraordinary cutting of forests, rates to supply deficiency of ordinary revenues, loans and accidental receipts.

The disbursements of a commune are also ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary disbursements are expenses of local administration receivers, collectors, payeurs, &c. expenses of communal property, national guard and barracks, poor laws, public instruction, religion, public festivals and unforeseen expenses. The extraordinary disbursements are unusual expenses of administration, purchase of property, heavy repairs, &c., extraordinary expenses of national guards, extraordinary expenses of public establishments, public instruction or religion, payment of arrears, law expenses, accidental expenses, &c.

The hospitals and bureaux de bienfaisance, as far as they have funds of their own, form a separate budget.

The whole receipts and expenses in 1832, were as follows:

	RECEIPT. frs.	EXPENSES. frs.
General budget, in which are included the centimes additionels, voted by the departments.	1,064,031,269	1,106,618,270
Budget of communes.	161,786,000	147,574,775
Towns of chef-lieu.	69,362,870	68,132,000
Hospitals and houses of reception, either from gifts, legacies, or the like, and produce of the work of persons employed.	51,222,063	48,842,097
Bureaux de Bienfaisance,* do. . .	10,315,746	8,956,036
Total. .	1,356,717,975	1,380,123,178

JUSTICE.

To the Minister of Justice is intrusted the organisation and surveillance of the whole judiciary system.†

* Bureaux of charity.

† The transmittal of all orders and instructions to the royal courts, and other tribunals for the execution of the laws and regulations promulgated.

For instance, the correspondence with the advocates-general and advocates of the king on all matters committed to the surveillance of the minister.

The duty of reporting to the king on matters of legislation, on the adminis-

The judicial system in France, much calumniated because little understood, is certainly not so defective as we are apt to consider it, and contains a mixture of diffused and centralised power well worthy of attention.

There is the authority that pursues and the authority that judges: we will consider each. The authority that pursues, is called "the public ministry," (*le ministère public*) and is a great social power charged with the preservation of order and tranquillity, and the punishment of those by whom the laws, in respect to these blessings, are infringed.

This power is, in fact, a personification of the community it protects. An individual is injured—the public ministry pursues the criminal, not for the sake of the individual, but for the sake of the public of which he forms a part; and the prosecution of course takes place at the public expense.*

The public ministry, though one in its object, is composed of a variety of separate and divergent authorities. The principal of these are the procureurs-généraux and the procureurs du roi.

There are in France, twenty-seven courts royal and three hundred and sixty-five tribunals of the first instance: at the chef-lieu † of each of these courts royal there is a procureur-général and at the chief-lieu of each department, a procureur du roi.

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tration of justice, on the conflicts between the civil and judicial authorities regarding naturalization, marriage, change of name, &c., as well as on matters regarding pardons, commutations of punishments, &c.

The decisions of the courts royal, which pronounce or confirm the censure or reprimand of a magistrate, cannot be put in execution unless they have been approved by the keeper of the seals, who has the power to order into his presence the members of the courts and tribunals, as well as of their officers, to explain all the charges which may be imputed to them.

The measures of discipline and regulation adopted by the courts and tribunals must also be submitted for his approbation, and without it can have no effect.

* There may, however, be two parts of the same case, one public and one private. For instance, an individual has been robbed of 200*l.*—the public ministry prosecutes the robber for the crime—the person robbed prosecutes him to recover the money. Here the ministry has nothing to do with the money—the person robbed nothing to do with the crime.

† Capital.

All the procureurs du roi within the jurisdiction of a court royal, are under the control of the procureur-général, follow his directions, and act in his name.

The different procureurs-généraux are altogether independent of each other, and there would be no common bond between them but for the establishment in the centre of France of a minister of justice.

This minister, however, has not, in point of form, the power of forcing the procureurs-généraux to act as he wishes.

Still he has in reality this power, since he can deprive them of their office if they act contrary to his wishes.

So far the whole machinery of the prosecution is calculated for energy and force, and might be terrible as an instrument of despotism, if not placed under some efficient control.

This control over the power that pursues, exists in the power that judges.

The first is centralized round the executive authority, the second has a dispersed and independent existence.

The procureur du roi, who looks up to the procureur-général, the procureur général who looks up to the minister of justice, may be considered one and the same person. But the procureur du roi, removeable at pleasure, can only bring the culprit before a magistrate who is immoveable, who has no orders to receive, either from the procureur du roi, or from the procureur-général, or from the minister of justice, and this humble and simple magistrate can at once disarm all the well organised and terrible force of the public ministry.

The judicial powers are thus arranged: as every arrondissement has a procureur du roi, so every arrondissement has one juge d'instruction* and two assistant judges.

In the same manner, as every division has a procureur-général, it has also a court royal, and in proportion to the facility and the power given to the executive authority for prosecuting the culprit, is the difficulty laid in the way of his being rashly and improperly condemned. The course of procedure is as follows: John Niles infringes the law—a police agent, or the party aggrieved, applies to a commissary of police, a chief of

* The number varies according to the importance of the place, and the business there is to do; but there must be three at least.

gendarmerie, a mayor, or a justice * of peace, or it may be to the procureur du roi.

The procureur sends a minute of what has been stated to the juge d'instruction; a summons to appear, or an order to be brought before the bench, is issued against the accused. Here the juge d'instruction questions, examines, releases or commits him;† for without a warrant, no citizen can be confined more than twenty-four hours. When the juge d'instruction considers there is good ground for a prosecution, he endeavours to find clear proofs of the supposed crime, and this stage of the proceedings is peculiarly liable to abuse. The juge d'instruction, with the natural bias of a lawyer, is too apt to feel a pride in placing the prisoner's guilt in the clearest light before the tribunal by which he is to be tried. He is, therefore, far more anxious to find precise proofs of the culpability of the accused than fearful to deprive him of liberty if he should be innocent.

When at last, however, he thinks his case as clear as it can be made, the prisoner is brought before the chamber of council —i. e. before three judges, of whom the juge d'instruction of the arrondissement is one. This court decides whether there is ground for proceeding with the cause or not. If the three judges decide in the negative, the prisoner is released; but he may perhaps have previously endured eight or nine months' imprisonment without guilt. There is, however, a check on this abuse. Every month the juge d'instruction is obliged to state to his two assistants why he does not try the prisoners, and they can either admit or overrule his reason. Sometimes this is a mere form, since the three judges may be very good friends, and confide in each other. But if a prisoner is urgent for a quick trial, and the public show interest in the matter, the judges apply to the case, and there is seldom avoidable delay. This part of the criminal law, however, requires reform—abuses may, and do, arise.

The accused has thus had two opportunities of being released: one by the juge d'instruction, at his first examination, the other by the chamber of council. He has one more. The chamber of accusation, composed of so many members of the cour

* The mayor is only where there is no commissaire of police.

† The great fault of this proceeding is that it is private.

royale,* an independent, immoveable court, may still declare that there is no cause for proceeding to judgment. But should the three courts concur in finding the prisoner guilty, he is then tried at the assizes. A member of the cour royale presides. A jury of thirty persons is chosen by ballot, from tax-payers to the amount of 200 francs, to which physicians, barristers, etc. have a right, on account of their profession merely, to belong. Before trial the prisoner and the public accuser each strike off nine. The president is assisted by two fellow members of the cour royale, who weigh with him the due punishment of the offender, and any mistakes that may have arisen in the procedure. The procureur-général opens the trial, states the grounds of prosecution, names the witnesses, etc. The avocat-général then appeals to the jury to do justice to the outraged community. After which the president interrogates the prisoner—too often† with an evident desire to entrap, and convict him. Questions so put, justify the insolence of the accused, who sometimes answers impatiently and disrespectfully: thus taking from justice much of the awe, which, when gravely and impartially administered, it must inspire.

The president next examines the witnesses. The prisoner and his counsel have the great advantage of cross-examining them, of rebuting or explaining the facts which they depose; and, consequently, of dissipating every unfavourable impression at the very moment it arises; but this advantage is more than counter-balanced by the supposition on which the whole trial proceeds, viz. that the prisoner is guilty until he is found innocent—and not, as with us, innocent until he has been proved guilty. After the witnesses have given their evidence, the

* A cour royale must be composed of at least twenty-four councillors, and is divided into different chambers—one at least for civil causes, as I shall mention presently, one of correctional police, and one chamber of accusation.

† The interrogation of the prisoner too often produces an unjust or a ridiculous effect. If the president is an able man, and the accused not so, the latter is too often self-convicted at the very outset of the trial; and, if on the contrary, as sometimes is the case in political trials, the prisoner has more ability than his interrogator, he perplexes, confounds, crushes, degrades him, and robs of all dignity the prosecution by which society vindicates its rights.

It would surely be more just, more reasonable, to hear the evidence against the prisoner, and let him rebut it as well as he could, and omit the interrogations altogether. Girod de l'Aine never questions the accused.

avocat-général sums up the facts against the accused, and endeavours to convince the reason and influence the passions of the jury. The prisoner's counsel then rises, and places his view of the evidence before them. The prisoner himself may now speak in his own defence, and is always allowed to speak last. The president should next sum up, with an impartiality more desirable than common, the facts of the case. The jury then declare the prisoner guilty or not guilty. This is the extent of their office. The court determines the punishment according to law on the demand of the avocat-général.

I may mention, that if the prisoner cannot pay a pleader, the president is obliged to appoint one,—who receives 10 francs if his client is condemned, and something more if he is acquitted.*

Should the president assign the first pleader in the court, common usage admits no demur.†

Those infringements of the law which come under the term *délits* (or offences) in the French code—I have been speaking of crimes—are punished in a different and more summary way. The court of arrondissement, in which they occurred, deciding upon them at once, but subject to an appeal to the cour royale;—a justice of peace or a tribunal of police can punish petty offences.‡

The courts which serve for the criminal are also used for the civil law. The justice of peace decides questions of trifling amount; the court of sessions, consisting of the juge d'instruction and his two colleagues, decides finally all cases under 1000 francs, to check the spirit of litigation that would prolong trials of little consequence. The court royal, a court of appeal, to which may be carried all cases of more than 1000 francs, is

* It is a very common practice with the counsel thus assigned to give their fee to the poor client. This is a slight instance of good feeling among the French avocats, who are often men of great moral courage and worth.

† This never occurs in Paris, where the young pleaders gladly exercise their eloquence for the poor; but it does happen, not unfrequently, in the departments.

The length of the trial, and the support of witnesses, make criminal proceedings very expensive in France. It would seem just for the public to pay the expense of the innocent.

‡ '*Délits*' (or 'offences') of the press are an exception; these are tried by a jury, or by the new law, if liable to be called *attentats* (treason), by the chamber of peers.

final. But the minister of justice may object to any decision that seems to him inconsistent with the written statute law.

Formerly the parliaments were independent of each other; each decided according to its own precedents and views. Their decisions therefore not unfrequently clashed; the law in different provinces was not the same. To remedy this abuse, the King, from time to time, declared in council that such and such a construction of the law was the only true one. Of course this threw the law into the hands of the King and council.

To secure the advantages without the defects of this system, was the origin of the court of cassation. If a decision in any civil or criminal case appears to the minister of justice contrary to law, he complains of it to the court of cassation. If this court declares that the cour royale has decided illegally, the whole case is referred to another tribunal. If the jury in a criminal, or the court in a civil cause decide contrary to the opinion of the court of cassation, that court assembles all its members, and reconsiders the case. Its first decision might be formed by half. If the full court of cassation confirms the first decree, the cause is carried before another court, and if this court decides as the two others, the cause is finished; but the minister is bound to lay before the chamber in the next session a law to clear up the doubtful point. In civil cases the aggrieved individual prefers his complaint against the aggressor, except in the case of minors, idiots, persons absent, &c.; for then the minister of justice is bound to speak in favour of the plaintiff after his advocate has spoken, In all other cases, the avocat-général has a right, if he pleases, to state his opinion to the court; he frequently uses this privilege, but is not obliged to do so.*

* There is also at Paris a court, consisting of a juge d'instruction and assistant, for the dispatch of affairs. It sits constantly in the Palace of Justice, and decides whether or no the person summoned before it ought to be committed or not. The case is then referred to another juge d'instruction.

I may observe that the prefect of police, an office existing only in Paris, has a right of search in private dwellings, and can put any one under confinement for twenty-four hours. He cannot, however, imprison any one for a longer time without the authority of a juge d'instruction.

Commerce has its separate tribunals, which, however, are still under the ministry and surveillance of the minister of justice. These tribunals exist in those arrondissements that require them.*

They are composed of a presiding judge, of judges and supernumerary judges, all chosen among the merchants the most respectable, and named at a meeting of merchants. The King ratifies the nomination.

The presiding judge must be forty years of age, and is chosen from the most ancient judges. The other judges must be thirty years of age, and have been engaged in commerce at least five years.

The president and the judges remain but two years in office, and can only be re-elected after the interval of a year.

Their functions are honorary.†

Advocates are not allowed to plead before this tribunal, but any other person can plead if authorised. Custom has allowed certain persons to plead who are authorised and admitted by the tribunal, under the title of *agréé*, an individual, as the name would imply, whose duty it is to bring the disputing parties to an amicable settlement or agreement.

The tribunals of commerce take cognizance of—first, all disputes relative to engagements and transactions between merchants and bankers, and between all personal disputes into which commerce enters. Secondly, all disputes between commercial agents and their principals; and thirdly, all disputes that concern bankruptcy.

The decisions of this court are final in cases not exceeding 1000 francs (or 40*l.*), and in other mercantile cases, where the parties beforehand forego their right of appeal; otherwise the appeals from the tribunal of commerce are carried to the court royal of their districts.

Such is the French judicial system, liable to abuses, as all institutions are, and more essentially subject to those abuses,

* In those arrondissements where there are no tribunals of commerce the civil tribunals are applied to instead.

† A clerk and attendant officer, named by the government, are attached to each tribunal.

which are not abuses of the law, but against the law, resulting from the mind and manners of the people by whom and for whom it is exercised.

These are principally the detention of criminals on inadequate proofs (though the frequency of this is rather exaggerated), and the bias too frequently seen in the mind of the judge in favour of that power to which he owes his authority.

A great contempt for personal liberty, and a strong leaning towards the executive government, result necessarily from the history and habits of the French; and to that history and those habits the present generation must at all events be subject.

But a time, I hope, will come when a new generation, educated in new ideas, will put this machinery in motion with a different spirit.

The following remarks may not be without interest.

The expenses of justice amount to about 3,632,000 fr.* distributed amongst:

1. Persons brought before the correctional tribunal.	35,486
2. Brought before the Cours d'Assises.	7,315
3. Liberated by the chambers of conseil. . . .	10,044
4. By the chambers of accusation.	779
Total. . . .	53,620

Giving an expense of about 56 fr. 55 cent. by individual.

In 1833, the number of persons arrested and dismissed without trial by the chambers of conseil, endured a captivity of 7,910 months; by the chamber of accusation, 1,670 months.

Again, the persons judged by the correctional tribunals were condemned to 34,490 months imprisonment.

The persons judged by the courts of assizes, 26,350 months. Total 70,420 months, i. e. 5,869 years.

From this statement, we see the number of persons dismissed without trial, and the time of their imprisonment; the number of persons brought up to trial, and the time of the confinement they were condemned to; and lastly, by comparing the number of individuals in prison with the number of months of their im-

* The charge is 3,300,000 frs.; but of this a certain sum is subject to recovery.

prisonment, and allowing an expense of about 27 fr. 10 sous* to each individual, and adding that to the 56 fr. 55 cent. already mentioned, we shall make the sum of

56 fr. 55 c.
27 fr. 10 c. } 89 fr. 50 c.† as the average cost of every person arrested.

POLICE.

As a fitting instrument of the public ministry, which pursues the crime, is the ministry of police which watches and apprehends the criminal.

At the head of this ministry is the minister of police,‡ who has in the department of the Seine an active agent in the prefect of police. And, indeed, as it is chiefly in Paris that the business of minister of police lies, the officer, subordinate to him in the capital, is an important personage, and almost a minister himself.

Under his inspection are placed all the prisons in the department of the Seine, all the gambling establishments, all the houses licensed for prostitution. He sees that peace is preserved at the markets, and in places of public worship—attending in every thing to the cleanliness and good order of the city.

He can order searches in private houses, arrest in urgent cases, and take any means he may think proper to disperse or prevent numerous and tumultuous meetings; and at once seize, and commit all persons taken en *flagrant délit* (in the fact.)

The officers under him, are:—Les commissaires de police. (Commissaries of police.)—Les officiers de paix. (Peace officers.)—Les commissaires de police de la Bourse. (Commissaries of police attached to the exchange.)—Les commissaires de la petite voirée.—Les commissaires et inspecteurs des halles et marchés. (Commissaries and inspectors of the market halls

* See reports of the minister of justice and budget.

† This is higher than the estimate allowed, viz. 200 frs. for each individual—but I add to this the presumed cost of maintaining the buildings of administration, &c.

‡ The functions of minister of police are for the moment absorbed in the department of the minister of the interior; still they are to be considered as attached to a separate department.

and public markets.)—Les inspecteurs des ports. (Inspectors of harbours.)

In the provinces, except under peculiar circumstances, such as that of La Vendée, the police rarely acts, save in its subordinate capacities; but in all cases the prefects of the departments execute in their respective jurisdictions the duties that would be required from a prefet de police; and the provincial agents of this ministry are placed under them.

The whole service centralizes itself in Paris in two bureaux —the one relating to the action of the police, and the other to its administration.

The duties of the minister too, are of a double nature:

Those relating to the criminal police.

Those relating to the political police.

As the head of the criminal police, the gendarmerie,* the pompiers, and that class of persons which would answer to our description of Bow Street runners, are at his orders: as the head of the political police, he directs and corresponds with an army of spies, taken from every class of society, and to be encountered in almost every scene of life. The system of passports over which he presides affords to his functions, where exercised for the preservation of property, a peculiar efficiency, which though obtained at the expense of personal liberty, the citizen, long accustomed to it, is willing to purchase at that price. But his most despotic, and as it is called important, employment is that of watching over the safety of the state; —which is in fact prying into the conduct of every individual, who can be supposed hostile to the administration in power.

Strange to say, this practice, abominable and useless as it is, has been preserved through a long series of years, and under almost every species of government without interruption. Introduced into France by Louis XI., and resorted to by the Medici against the protestants, it was soon after systematized by Richelieu, and pursued with equal ardour by the timid and crafty character of his Italian successor.

* This force, centralized in the ministry I am describing, follows the division of other parts of the French administration; every arrondissement has its troop—every chef-lieu its colonel.

Louis XIV., Louis XV., and even Louis XVI., continued it, and indeed, one of the first demands of the National assembly was the abolition of a bureau,* called especially *bureau du roi*, and which was charged with the shameful duty of opening private correspondence.

The government of the Convention, though the system of espionage was never perhaps more infamously practised than by itself, disavowed the principle of that violation of social confidence, as it did indeed the principle of all its tyrannies. But the unblushing Directory avowed and justified it, and Bonaparte multiplied its dignities and duties in a manner almost ludicrous. Then came the Restoration, keeping the country in a perpetual state of alarm by plots supposed, sought after, and undiscovered: and now, the new government is almost as active as its predecessors, in the pursuit of every paltry intrigue; and yet, did all the agents of Napoleon discover the conspiracy of Mallet? Did all the agents of Monsieur de Polignac breathe a warning whisper of the revolution of July? and here again, under the government of Louis-Philippe, Don Carlos quietly traverses his kingdom, and an Italian adventurer almost succeeds in blowing up his family and his court; and even M. Thiers—the clever, active, indefatigable M. Thiers—is just as wise as the rest of the world about the matter.

INSTRUCTION.

As the system of public prosecution is conducted under the title of "ministère public," so the system of instruction, which in France is also an affair of the state, is conducted in the name of "the university"—the minister of instruction† being appointed the grand-master thereof.

The university, to adopt this expression, is charged exclusively with the care of teaching; and no school of any des-

* A curious set of documents, found in the Bastille in 1789, were afterwards published, and among other curious facts, it was discovered that in one year, and in Paris alone, two hundred priests had been caught *flagrante delicto:*

† The minister of instruction is also minister of religion; but there remains little for me to say upon that subject.

cription can be carried on without its express authorization.* Under the minister of instruction, then, there is the *conseil royal de l'instruction publique*,† composed of six members, whose duty it is to superintend every thing relative to the expenses required by the public establishments, as well as the books to be used and the course of education to be followed therein.

Such being the central board of administration, France is divided into divisions of instruction called *academies* (academies), which are situated in the chefs-lieu of the different courts royal, and every academy has a governor acting as minister of instruction in his circumscription, and assisted by a *conseil académique* (academic council), answering to the *conseil royal* (royal council) at Paris.

The different public establishments within each academy are classed under one of the following heads:

1. The faculties.—2. The royal colleges. The communal colleges.—3. Institution and schools (private establishments).—4. Primary schools (public or private).

The establishments for instruction being thus classed, instruction has also its classification.

Superior instruction.‡—Secondary instruction.—Primary instruction.

Superior instruction consists in the faculties, divided into classes of theology, droit, médecine, science, and letters, which confer the degrees of bachelier, licencié, and docteur (bachelor, licenciate, and doctor).

The places where the faculties are taught, answer to our universities :—of these there are in France 35.

Instruction secondaire (secondary instruction) consists, in philosophy, natural history, elementary mathematics, latin, greek, foreign languages, &c.

* In order to keep in use the regulations prescribed by the university, whether of discipline or teaching, there are two inspecteurs-généraux who are charged with the continual examination and inspection of the different establishments for education—both in respect to the masters or pupils.

† The royal council of public instruction.

‡ There is also attached to the department of superior instruction, eighteen secondary schools of medicine, and one establishment for the instruction of professors at Paris.

These are taught in the royal and communal colleges, which answer to our public schools; and in some of the private establishments I have mentioned. There are in France, for secondary instruction, Royal colleges, 39.—Communal colleges, 320.—Private colleges, 2.—Private institutions, 120.—Small private schools, 1,025.

Primary instruction is divided into two branches, primary superior instruction, and primary instruction. The first consists in reading, writing, summing, history, geography, and some notion of chemistry and surveying. The second, simply in reading, writing, and summing.

There were in 1832 fifty schools for the education of masters of primary education, and sixteen more were then about to be formed: the number of primary schools is upwards of 45,000; of which, nearly 32,000 are communal; the rest are private.

In these different establishments there are masters, about 10,000.

Scholars:

Superior instruction. . . .	16,302
Secondary instruction. . . .	71,036
Primary instruction.	1,935,624
	2,022,963

By comparing the number of pupils with the sum expended in secondary and primary instruction (board of course not included),

Every pupil at a royal college receives his education for	162f. 65 c.
——————communal college	87 17
——————primary school	4 15

The royal colleges are supported by their own funds, by a grant from the university, and by a royal donation of 601,500 fr. which go to the education of scholars who distinguish themselves.

Communal colleges are supported by any funds they may possess, and by departmental, and communal contributions. It

is endeavoured to have one of these colleges in each arrondissement.*

The funds then applied to the general expenses of instruction proceed from the vote of the budget—the monies belonging to the university, now consolidated and left at different times to former establishments, for the purposes of education—the revenues of the royal communal colleges—and the votes of the conseils-généraux (general council) of the departments, and of the conseils-municipaux (municipal council) of the communes; and these funds, most of them called for by the government, are all applied under the regulations of the government towards the attainment of the object in view.†

COMMERCE.

The minister of this department, whose functions have also been sometimes appended to those of the minister of the interior, had his duties fixed in 1814, and presiding over every thing connected with commerce, except its tribunals, is the centre of a variety of chambers created for the purpose of promoting commercial and manufacturing interests.

There are, for instance, in the great commercial and manufacturing towns, chambers authorized by the King, and composed

* Primary instruction is paid by the communes, by the departments, and by the state. Every commune is obliged, either by itself or by uniting with another commune, to have at least one school of instruction primaire. All communes having more than 6,000 inhabitants are obliged, besides, to have instruction primaire supérieure, and every department is obliged, either by itself or by uniting with another department, to have a normal[a] school of primary instruction. In the elementary schools, all the pupils that the municipal council declare incapable of paying, receive instruction gratis.

In every primary superior school, there are a certain number of places given to pupils who cannot pay, and who distinguish themselves in examination.

A committee is appointed in every commune, and in every arrondissement, to overlook, and assist the instruction of their particular district. Much of this is stated in the Introduction, Vol. 1. France Social, Literary and Political.

† Besides these establishments dependent upon the university, there is, independent the "collège of France," of which the professors, named by the minister of instruction on a double presentation from the establishment, and the Institute, are so justly celebrated.

[a] A school for the education of schoolmasters.

of a certain number of merchants called "chambers of commerce." *

The duty of these chambers is to make known to the minister, with whom they directly correspond, their views both as to what would improve, or as to what injuriously affect the commercial interests of the towns they belong to.

There are also chambers of a similar nature, called "chambers of arts and manufactures," which have for their object the improvement of manufactures by the experiments of art and science.

The "council general of commerce" is a more central council resident at the seat of government, composed of one person from each chamber of commerce, and of twenty persons from among the principal merchants of France. This council expresses its opinion to the minister on all questions of legislation or administration relative to the commerce of the country, and is consulted on all laws that are introduced in respect to this subject.

Paris names eight, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen, and Havre, two.

There is then the "conseil général des manufactures" composed of twenty members named for three years by the chambers of arts and manufactures, and of forty members named by the minister of commerce, with the approbation of the King.† This second council holds the same situation in respect to manufactures that the council does to commerce.

The *Conseil supérieur de Commerce* is a small body of twenty-four persons named by the King, a sort of privy council for the minister, who can consult it in respect to the demands or views of the two other councils which are representative.

Thus the whole system, beginning with the chambers of commerce and manufactures, continues centralizing, through the councils of commerce and manufactures, and then through the conseil supérieur de commerce, until at last it arrives at the minister himself.

* When these chambers are in the capital of a department, they are presided over by the government; otherwise, their president is the mayor of the commune.

† Ten members of the council of commerce, belonging to the manufacturing town, also have the permission to enter it.

THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

The duties of this minister* resemble, in a great measure, those of our secretary for the home department, and when stripped of the accidental functions he is now invested with, his office is pretty well confined to presiding over the administration of the interior.

France, as we know, is divided into departments, which are subdivided into arrondissements, which are re-divided into cantons and communes.

There are for each department, a prefect, a council of prefecture, and a council general of department.

There is for each arrondissement, except in that in which the prefect resides, a sub-prefect, and under the immediate orders of the prefect, a council of arrondissement.

In each commune there is a mayor, or chief magistrate, one or more adjuncts or deputies, and a municipal council.

I proceed to detail the various functions of these authorities, commencing with the department.

The prefect in France, named by the King, is at the head of the administration of every department, and in centralizing the government of the province, he is one of the links in the central government of the country.

His duty is to see that the laws are obeyed. He has the power to suspend from their functions the mayors of the communes and their substitutes, and, himself dismissable at pleasure, is controlled by the minister of the interior only.†

The council of the prefecture, named also by the King, is

* The office of minister of foreign affairs can offer no details necessary to elucidate this subject. That of minister of public works is now also engrossed by the minister of the interior; but I have not thought it necessary to enter into details of this department, which is pretty well explained by its title, and answers to our minister of the woods and forests, with this exception, that the public roads are under his management, and that all buildings erected, even by the communes, for public purposes, must have their plans submitted to his sanction.

† His salary sometimes amounts to 80,000 francs. His office, therefore, is one of the most eagerly sought after, and bestowed only on persons in whom the government can implicitly confide.

the prefect's council, with whom he advises, and over whom he presides.

This body decides all disputes or difficulties between the undertakers of public works and the administration, as well as all damages due to private citizens from the erection of roads, &c. It has also the management of all national property in the department.

By the side of this assembly there is another—more popular, viz. the council general;—composed of the same number of members as there are cantons in the department, with this exception, however, that it must not contain more than thirty members.

A member of the general council is elected in each canton by an electoral assembly composed of electors and citizens who are on the jury list. If their number is under fifty, the complement is formed by calling to vote such other citizens as pay the greatest proportion of taxes.*

To be eligible to the council general of the department, the party must be in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights. He must be twenty-five years of age, and have paid, for a year and upwards, 200 francs (8*l.*) of direct taxes.

The King can dissolve a council general; in which case a new election must take place within three months from the date of the dissolution.

The council meets once a year; its sittings are not public, and cannot exceed *fifteen days* in duration.

The duty of this assembly is, as I have said, to divide the direct contributions of the department among the arrondissements, and to determine the demands for reduction made by the different councils of the arrondissements, cities, burghs, and villages under its control. It also, as I have shown, regulates, within the limits allowed by law, the number of additional

* In the departments, which have more than thirty cantons, the extra number is joined to others who elect their representative.

Public functionaries, salaried by the government, cannot be nominated members of the general council.

The members are nominated for nine years, and are renewed by one-third every three years.

The members are re-eligible.

centimes of which the imposition is required for departmental expenses; receives from the prefect an account of these sums, and expresses its opinion of the state and the wants of the department, in an address to the minister of the interior.

The duties of the sub-prefect resemble those of the prefect, but are confined to his own arrondissement.

The sub-prefect receives his orders from the prefect, and is accountable to him for their performance.

In each arrondissement, over which the sub-prefect presides, there is a council composed of as many members as there are cantons in the arrondissement.

The councillors are elected in these cantons by an electoral assembly, composed in the same manner as that which elects the councils general of departments.

The qualification requires the persons so elected to be aged twenty-five years and upwards, to be in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights, and to have been paying in the department, during a year at least, 150 francs (6*l.*), of direct contributions, one-third of which must have been payable in the arrondissement, wherein their domicile has been.*

This council assembles once a year, at periods fixed by the King. The session cannot be more than fifteen days; being ten days before and five days after the meeting of the council-general.

The direct taxes are distributed by the arrondissement among the villages and burghs in its jurisdiction, as in the council-general; the direct taxes of the department are apportioned amongst the arrondissements.†

The council of the arrondissement also replies to all demands for diminution in their burthen, made by these villages and burghs.

It listens to the annual account of the sub-prefect as to the employment of the centimes additionnels for the local expenses of the department, and expresses an opinion on the wants and wishes of the arrondissement.

In the commune there are a mayor and two adjuncts,

* The same disqualifications which apply to members of the council-general apply also to councillors of the arrondissement.

† See Finance.

chosen from the municipal council, and named by the King in the chef-lieu of an arrondissement, and in all communes where the population exceeds 3,000 inhabitants.

In the other communes these officers are named by the prefect.

The appointment is for three years, and the persons nominated must be twenty-five years old, and have their domicile in the commune.*

Every commune has a municipal council (the mayor and his adjuncts are comprised).

This council consists of ten members, where the commune has no more than 500 inhabitants.—Of twelve, where the commune contains from 500 to 1,500 inhabitants.—Of sixteen where the commune contains from 1,500 to 2,500 inhabitants. —Of twenty-one, where the commune contains from 2,500 to 3,500 inhabitants.—Of twenty-three, where the commune contains from 3,500 to 10,000 inhabitants.—Of twenty-seven, where the commune contains from 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. —Of thirty-six, where the commune contains 30,000 inhabitants, and upwards.

The council municipal is chosen by the electors of the commune.

The electors of communes are the most imposed among its inhabitants in the following proportions:

For communes of 1,100 souls and under, one-tenth of the population. This number will increase by five for every one hundred inhabitants above 1,000 up to 5,000.—By four for every one hundred above 5,000, up to 15,000.—By three for every one hundred above 15,000.

Besides the persons voting on account of their taxation, the members of courts of law, justices of peace, members of any chamber of commerce, or council of prud'hommes; of any commission of colleges, or charitable establishments; all officers in the national guard, all members and correspondents of the

* Persons disqualified to serve: The members of the courts and tribunals of the first instance, and justices of the peace. The ministers of any religion. The officers of the navy or army in service. The engineers on service. The financial agents of the administration. The commissaries and agents of police. The mayor sees that public order is maintained, and the laws executed.

Institut, all doctors of law, science or medicine; all advocates or notaries, all ancient functionaries of state, all officers of the army or navy receiving pensions; all scholars of the polytechnic school declared, on quitting, admissable to the public service, and who have resided a year in the commune; all persons voting for the elective deputies of councils-general of the departments, whatever be their contributions in the commune—all these vote as communal electors.*

The council of the commune is elected for six years (the members being re-eligible), and it is renewed by one half every three years.

The King, however, can dissolve it at any time, and a re-election must then take place within three months.

It sits four times a year, and each sitting may last for ten days.

The business of this body is to investigate the wants, and provide for the expenses of the commune; and in this, its jurisdiction is prescribed by the obligation of a definitive sanction, either from the sub-prefect or the prefect, who depend upon the central government, or from the minister of the interior himself.†

Thus we see a perpetual series of links—the mayor in the commune, the sub-prefect in the arrondissement, the prefect and his council in the department, all connecting the administration of the village with that of the empire; and lastly, in the very circumstance where men may be supposed most free, viz. the expenditure of their own money, they are subject to a control, which is sometimes advantageous in preventing their extravagances and mistakes, but which can never form their judgment.‡

* The council municipal must be chosen from the list of the electors of the commune, and three-fourths must at least be domiciled within it.

† See Finance.

‡ The minister of the interior is at the head of the civil force of the country, i. e. the national guard; but this is mentioned subsequently.]

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER X.

The Army—The Legion of Honour—The National Guard.

MINISTER OF WAR, &c.

I now come to that part of the public service where centralization is most wanted, and its construction most perfect:—I mean the Army.

The minister of war in France contains within his jurisdiction, the direction of every branch of the military service. The armament, the recruitment, the discipline, the punishments, the movement, the victualling of the troops, all come under his inspection, and form the rays as it were that centre in his control.

In his office there is to every kind of service and species of administration, its separate superintendence, under the following terms: 1. Direction du cabinet du ministre.—2. Direction des archives or du dépôt de la guerre.—3. Direction de l'infanterie.—4. Direction de la cavalerie.—5. Direction de l'artillerie.—6. Direction du génie.—7. Direction de la justice militaire.—8. Direction des mouvemens de troupes et des transports et convois.—9. Direction de l'intendance militaire.—10. Direction de la comptabilité.*

All these boards, thus concentrated in the ministry of war,

* 1. Direction of the cabinet of the minister.—2. Direction of the archives or of the depot of war.—3. Direction of the infantry.—4. Direction of the cavalry.—5. Direction of the artillery.—6. Direction of the engineers.—7. Direction of military justice.—8. Direction of the movement of troops, transports, convoys, &c.—9. Direction of the military intendance.—10. Direction of accounts.

correspond with two great administrations, viz. des divisions militaires, des intendances militaires*—administrations disseminated throughout the kingdom—which for this purpose is divided into sixteen jurisdictions, each of which has two sub-jurisdictions, formed ordinarily of a department.

"The military divisions," as they are called, have altogether a military character; at the head of each is a lieutenant-général, who has under him at the head of each sub-division a maréchal-de-camp. The lieutenant-general has the control and inspection of all the troops within the sphere allotted to him. Their recruiting, their exercise and instruction, their police and distribution into garrisons and detachments; cavalry, infantry, artillery, engineers (gendarmerie, even, though that force is set in motion by a separate authority), are all and equally under him, and he reports from time to time to the ministry of war, the numbers, and discipline; everything in short relating to the force of the troops under his command.

These reports are made under their special heads, and go accordingly to the different directions allotted to them in the war office.

The chiefs of these directions make a report thereupon to the minister of war, and he sometimes decides himself, sometimes takes the advice of the King, respecting them.

The military intendances are the civil administration of the army, and are directed by intendants and sub-intendants stationed through the country, in the same manner as the generals and maréchaux-de-camps. Thus the intendant general resides in the same town as the lieutenant-général, and the sub-intendant in the same town as the maréchal-de-camp.

There are as many intendants therefore as divisions, and as many sub-intendants as sub-divisions.

The intendant, in the same manner as the lieutenant-général, communicates with all the corps stationed in his district and with the minister of war respecting them; but his functions lie wholly in the details respecting the pay and commissariat of the army, the purchasing and accounting for all victuals, &c. &c.

† Military divisions and military intendances.

His communications on these subjects pass through the bureaux de comptabilité (boards of accounts), the financial board of the war office; and are there submitted to the minister of war himself, who usually confers upon them with the King. Thus, every thing relating to the army arrives at the minister of war by two channels; the one relating to the military, and the other to the economical part of the service.

The separate reports he thus receives, he can compare together, and in this manner pretty easily acquaint himself not only with the efficiency of the parties reporting, but also with the actual state of the army in the district referred to. The report of the general specifies the numbers of the troops in his division; the report of the intendant, the pay, provisions and expense: one account checks the other.

But in order to have some still further check upon these officers themselves, there are appointed inspectors-general, officers of the rank of lieutenant-général or maréchal-de-camp, who are sent every year into the different divisions.

The inspector-general examines into every part, military and economic of the service, enters into the minutest details, passing seven or eight days with each regiment. There he receives every man, from the colonel to the private soldier; listens to all complaints and demands, and reports in the fullest manner on what has passed to the minister of war, who thereby sees the accuracy of the statements already made to him.

The army of France forms so interesting a part of the power and policy of that country, that perhaps it will not be uninteresting if I go into further details respecting it.

COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY.

The French army is composed of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers.

The infantry is divided into infantry of the line, and light infantry. The infantry of the line consists of sixty-six regiments, each of three thousand six hundred and twenty men, in four battalions of eight hundred and sixty-two men each. A battalion has eight companies of one hundred and eight men, to each of which are attached a captain, a lieutenant, and sub-

lieutenant. There is attached, besides, to each of these regiments a company called—*hors-rang* (out of the ranks), composed of the servants of the small staff, the musicians, the master, workmen, &.

The light infantry is composed of twenty-one regiments, each of three battalions only.*

The cavalry is divided into the *cavalerie de réserve*, *cavalerie de ligne*, and *cavalerie légère*. †

The cavalry of the reserve comprises two regiments of *carabineers*, and ten of *cuirassiers;* every regiment being nine hundred and sixty men, and seven hundred and sixty-nine horses strong. The regiment is divided into six squadrons, each squadron being commanded by a captain commandant, a second captain, two lieutenants, and two sub-lieuteuants. A *chef d'escadron* has two squadrons under his command.

The *cavalry of the line* consists of twelve regiments of dragoons, and six regiments of lancers. The only difference between these regiments and the others, is the circumstance that they are stronger in numbers; their effective being one thousand and fifty-six men, and eight hundred and sixty-five horses.

The *light cavalry* consists of twelve regiments of *chasseurs* and six of hussars. These regiments have the same divisions and force as the lancers.

The artillery has eleven regiments of four squadrons each. Each squadron has four batteries; the numerical force of these regiments is of two thousand men, and one thousand horses.

The *engineers* have three regiments, whose strength is the same as that of the light infantry. A train company is attached to each of these regiments; there is also a battalion of *pontonniers* whose duty it is to construct bridges, &c. during war; six train squadrons of park artillery; and a train corps for military equipages; but as these bodies are only useful in time

* In the epaulettes of the officers there is also a trifling difference; those of the line are gold, those of the light infantry silver. This forms the sole difference between the light infantry and the infantry of the line, with the exception that the light infantry uniform has yellow, that of the line red, facings.

† Cavalry of reserve, cavalry of line, and light cavalry.

of war, it is impossible now to state their effective force, which varies with the expectation of their being wanted.

There are, besides what I have mentioned, a number of corps that also form part of the army, but which are stationary, and not destined for active service. The *gendarmerie* which forms the *police municipale* (municipal police) are spread in the sixteen great divisions over the whole surface of France. The company of veterans do duty in forts. The company of *garde côtes* (coast guards) are stationed at seaports. The municipal guard of Paris abides there under the orders of the prefect of police. The company of *douaniers* (custom-house officers) are in the service of the custom house. Other small bodies might also be mentioned of a similar character.

RECRUITING.

Such being the composition of the army, it is recruited in two manners; by conscription (appels), or by voluntary enlistment. The calls are made once a year in virtue of a law, which the chambers pass, and which is approved of by the King. This law calls under the tricolor from sixty, to eighty thousand men per annum, according to circumstances, and the government distributes between the departments the proper contingent of each to the general levy. At the commencement of the year, the different mayors meet at the *chef-lieu* (chief town) of their *arrondissement*, bringing with them all the young men belonging to the several communes, who have completed their twentieth year; the sub-prefect, who administers in the arrondissement, having already prepared a list for that arrondissement containing the names of the young men liable to the conscription. After the effective of the contingent is determined, and the number which each canton is to supply ascertained, the young men inscribed on the list proceed to draw lots, and the lowest numbers drawn design those to be enrolled. A short time after this, however, a council of revision is held, at which claims for exemption and other objections against the service are heard. A final list is then made out, and the individuals, whose names are found in it, are sub-

sequently and definitively called to the ranks of the army in virtue of a royal ordonnance.

The military authorities then direct the young soldiers by detachments, more or less considerable, to the corps of which they are to compose a part. Arrived at their destination, they are incorporated in the companies or squadrons, so as to be properly mixed with the ancient soldiers. Their uniform is given to them, and, on the first review of the regiment, they are brought forward to take an oath of fidelity to the king, to the country, and to the tricoloured flag. The form of the oath is, "Je jure d'être fidèle au roi, á l'honneur et à la patrie, et de ne jamais abandonner les drapeaux!"* The transformation of the peasant, the artisan, the labourer, or the *bourgeois*, is now complete! †

The legal duration of service in the army is seven years.‡ At the expiration of that period the soldier receives his discharge, and generally returns to his native district, and former employment. Some, however, re-engage in the army for two or four years, but these are generally of a class who would find it difficult to gain their livelihood in another manner.

The conditions of voluntary enlistment differ in no way from the conditions imposed on the soldier by conscription. Like him, the volunteer cannot retire from the service during the period of his engagement, till he has found a proper substitute. During the times of peace the number of volunteers is small. But, in war, or at a whisper of war, the military spirit of France revives. Immediately after the revolution of July, sixty thousand rushed to the national standard.§ In 1832, there were eleven thousand nine hundred and eight volunteers, of whom, one thousand three hundred and fifty-five were from the department of the Seine.

* I swear to be faithful to the king, to the honour of the country, and never to quit my standard.

† None are admitted to the army who have been condemned for any disgraceful offence.

‡ About one sixth, it is calculated, re-enlist for two or four years. These receive a bounty of 22 francs for two years, and 44 francs for four years; besides, 8 centimes per day additional, after two years' service, and 10 centimes after six. I speak of infantry of the line. The other corps receive something more.

§ Most of these, on the chance of war disappearing, purchased substitutes

In 1833, there were but five thousand five hundred and ninety-one—of whom, eight hundred and thirty-nine came from the department of the capital.

The persons so engaging, in time of peace, are naturally men for the most part without employment, persons whose enterprizing and adventurous character has already embarked them in scrapes; but sometimes young men of respectability, wishing to enter the military career without undergoing the discipline of the military schools, engage in this humble manner.

The sons of the greatest and richest families of France, of dukes and peers, have not disdained to arrive at the rank of an officer, by passing through the duties of a common soldier. And this not in appearance merely, but in reality. Many are the instances that could be cited of these young gentlemen doing their duty in every respect as a private of the ranks; supporting the severest fatigues and privations; currying their horses, cleaning their stables, and carrying the forage on their shoulders; nor is it extraordinary to meet in a soldier's room, the descendant of a noble family and the bearer of a great name, sharing his bed with the son of one of his domestics. These examples were frequent under the restoration—more so immediately after its overthrow:—not so frequent at the present time.

The Pay.—The pay of the army is much the same now, that it was prior to the revolution of 1789. The necessity for a a great army, and the difficulty of supporting a great expense, made this almost a matter of course; and under these circumstances it has even required an effort to keep up the ancient scale.

The pay then of the officer and the soldier, the former perhaps has the least to complain of, is in France as elsewere, but a miserable pittance for the services he has to perform, and the station he ought to maintain.

At the present moment the grade of a *sous-lieutenant* of the line—a rank equivalent to our ensign or cornet, is 1,500 francs per annum, in the foot regiments, and 1,725 francs in the cavalry. This is about the salary of a secondary merchant's junior clerk.*

* See Manuel de la Législation Militaire.

The pay of all the other superior officers is in the same proportion, as that of the sub-lieutenant. A colonel has 6,250 francs per annum in the infantry, and 6,875 in the cavalry. A lieutenant-colonel 5,275 in the infantry, and 5,875 in the cavalry A chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron 4,500 in the infantry, 5,000 in the cavalry.

INFANTRY.—Captains.	1st class,	3,600 francs.
	2nd class,	3,000
Lieutenants.	1st class,	1,875
	2nd class,	1,650
CAVALRY. — Captains.	1st class,	3,750
	2nd class,	3,450
Lieutenants.	1st class,	2,175
	2nd class,	1,875

A marshal of France has 40,000 francs; a lieutenant-general, if commanding, 40,000 frs.; if not, 15,000 in peace, and 18,750 in war; a maréchal-de-camp has 10,000 francs in peace, and 12,500 in war.

It is to be remembered that commissions are not purchased, and that, therefore, the pay, such as it is, which the officer receives, is wholly reward for his services, and not interest for his money. As to the soldier, his cost to the state cannot perhaps be exactly calculated, because his arms, accoutrements, his barrack-room, the principal part of his clothing, are furnished by the public magazines and manufactories; but his daily allowance will give an adequate idea, in other respects, of his situation.* It amounts, on an average, to 48 centimes, 4½d a day. From this pittance 10 centimes, one penny, are withheld as a provision for the linen and stockings he may require, and for the small articles necessary to his dress and cleanliness; 30 centimes, three pence, are kept for his food, and he is supplied with one pound and a half of tolerable bread in addition; 8 centimes, about three farthings, are given to him for pocket money. Such is the state of the French soldier.†

It will be easily believed, that with resources apparently so

* Nouveau Guide des Sous-Officers.—(New guide for non-commissioned officers.)

† The two flank companies receive a halfpenny (5 cent) a day more; and, as we have seen, those re-engaging after 8 years service, 8 cents. more.

inadequate, it would be impossible for him to exist but under a system of the most rigid economy. For this purpose, a subaltern officer is charged in each company with the control of the sum appropriated for food, and is in fact the superintendant of the mess, for it is by *messing* the food that a sum so minute is rendered sufficient for the purpose. This officer purchases himself at market the articles necessary; some soldiers are metamorphosed into cooks, and the dinner is divided into small tin dishes, and distributed fairly to each soldier in the company. The soldier has two meals a day, one at ten o' clock, and the other at five. The first is composed of soup, and a quarter of a pound of boiled beef; the second of a small portion of vegetables, generally of potatoes or beans, with a quarter of a pound of mutton or veal. The only drink given is water; wine, brandy, or other spirits are only distributed, and then, in very small proportions, on the occasion of public rejoicings, or on a visit of the general.*

Pensions.—As some atonement for the exiguity of his pay, the soldier has the prospective of a pension.

In time of peace this is earned by thirty years; in time of war, by fifteen years' service.†

Besides this, the orphans and widows of those who have perished in battle,‡ receive a portion (about one-fourth) of the pension that their husbands or fathers would have been en-

* When the soldier is in the colonies a slight difference in the arrangements takes place. He has 1 lb. 9⅔ oz. of bread, with 8½ oz. of salt or fresh beef, or 7 oz. of pork daily. When on the war establishment, 1 oz. of rice, or 2 oz. of peas, and half an ounce of salt. Instead of paying 30 cents. for his messing, he pays only 20 in the colonies, and 14 on the war establishment.

Soldiers of good conduct are sometimes allowed to absent themselves from regimental duties, and work on their own account in the towns where they are quartered. They pay, in this case, five centimes per day to the mess, and six francs a month to the soldier who does their duty, and cleans their arms. They must also pay for their linen, etc. unless their stock be complete.

† Two years in the colonies are counted as three years.

‡ There is also for the officers what is called "Traitement de réforme," (half pay allowance,) in which he is in a middle state, between being in the army and out of it. Those who have served 20 years may receive this pay for ten, without being called upon to re-enter the service; those who have six years, for three, etc., etc. The allowance for a colonel is 1,200 frs.; for a sub-lieutenant, 320 frs.

tided to for retirement, whatever may have been the period of their service, in the rank they held. The widows and children of pensioners are also paid according to the same regulation; and the pension to a soldier's wife cannot be less than 100 frs.

The pensions of course vary according to rank, and the following table will exhibit their rates and proportions.

STATEMENT OF HALF-PAY ALLOWANCES, SHOWING THE RATE ACCORDING TO RANK AND CORPS.

		Maximum.	Minimum.
		Francs.	Francs.
General Staff.	Lieutenant general.	6,000	5,000
	Maréchal-de-camp.	4,000	3,500
Royal Staff Corps.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel.	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion.	2,200	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant.	1,000	800
Military intendance.	Military intendant.	4,000	3,500
	Sub-intendant.	3,000	2,500
Commandants of Towns.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Chief of battalion.	2,000	1,800
Town Adjutants.	Captain.	1,500	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant.	1,000	800
Board of Health.	Head surgeon.	2,000	1,600
	Assistant surgeon.	1,000	800
Gendarmerie.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Chief of squadron.	2,200	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Quarter-master.	450	400
	Brigadier.	360	310
	Gendarme.	320	220
Infantry of the Line. Light Infantry. Veteran Non-commissioned officers. Veteran fusileers. Artillery.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel.	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion.	2,000	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant.	1,000	800
	Adjutant non-commissioned officer.	600	500
	Serjeant-major.	500	400
	Serjeant.	400	300
	Corporals.	350	200
	Soldiers.	300	200
Cavalry. Artillery. Artillery Train.	Colonel.	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel.	2,400	2,000
	Chief of squadron.	2,000	1,800
	Major.	2,000	1,800
	Captain.	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant.	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant.	1,000	800
	Adjutant.	600	500
	Head quarter-master.	500	400
	Quarter-master.	400	300
	Brigadier.	350	250
	Soldiers.	300	200

	Number of soldiers tried.	To death.
Military offences (provided against by the military code).		
1. Desertion to the enemy, or in face of the enemy.	33	11
2. — to foreign countries.	92	4
3. — to the interior by change of resolution.	68	16
4. — to the interior with arms and uniform.	472	3
5. — to the interior, not singly, but with others.	20	,,
6. — to the interior singly	1,154	,,
Total of desertion. . .	1,839	34
7. Offences classed under the heads of treason, spies, and persuading men to desert.	45	9
8. — under the head of insubordination. .	873	42
9. — under the head of thefts, breach of trust, dishonesty and bribery	1,266	4
10. Offences other than those above specified.	2,033	,,
Total of military offences, inclusive of desertion.	6,056	89
Common offences (provided against by the civil courts).		
11. Thefts from private citizens	401	,,
12. Assassinations and assaults.	235	17
13. Rapes, and offences against morals . . .	18	,,
14. Common offences, other than those above specified.	223	,,
Grand Total. . .	6,933	106

Of this 6,858,—14 were sent before the ordinary tribunals, from the incompetence of the Council of War—2,217 were acquitted—4,627 were condemned, 93 to death—391 to hard labour—130 to seclusion—308 to the *boulet**—1,149 to labour on the public works—2,556 to imprisonment.

It is to be observed that 1,555 were tried in the same month as their offence—2,287 in two months after their offence, and 3,111 subsequently to that period.—24,064 witnesses were heard, and the expenses of the proceedings were 156,217 fr.

The sentences pronounced were not all executed.—Of the 4,627 condemned, 496 obtained an entire pardon; 656 a commutation of sentence; and 13 capital sentences were alone put into execution.

From the report of the minister of war we learn a very curious fact, viz. that of the 6,858 persons tried, 2,806 were volunteers, and 2,359 substitutes for those who had enrolled; and but 1,693 persons entering by conscription, though the great bulk of the army is composed of these. It also appears that in the persons tried and condemned, there were out of 17 soldiers,—7 volunteers,—6 substitutes,—and 4 conscripts.

This sufficiently shows the great superiority of the conscripts over the other two classes of soldiers.

There was but one of the scholars from the military schools tried, and he was acquitted; and from the gendarmerie, a force of 15,514 men, but 15 were brought to trial. Two facts important to France—as well in respect to the discipline of her troops as the security of her citizens.

The officers of rank brought to trial, offering a total of 16,642—15. Of the sub-officers, of a total of 20,524—176. Of the corporals, &c. 26,012—216.

The annexed tables give these and other particulars.

Mode of procedure.—In every division, there are established two permanent councils of war, and one council of revision—which is to the military courts what the "cour de cassation" (court of cassation) is to the civil.

The permanent councils are formed from every rank, and

* To drag the shot.

2nd TABLE. SOL

Soldiers voluntarily enlisted.	for de	
	for oth	
Recruits.	for des	
	for oth	
Substitutes.	for des	
	for oth	
Pupils of the military colleges.	for des	
	for oth	
Gagistes.	for des	
	for oth	
Natives of conquered countrie		
Grand		

3rd TABLE. SOLDIERS C

contain a colonel who presides, a chef-de-bataillon, two captains, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, and one non-commissioned officer.

The council of revision consists of five members: one general officer who presides, one colonel, one chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron, and two captains.*

The mode of proceeding is as follows: directly a person, subject to military law, is accused of an offence, his commanding officer arrests him, and institutes an enquiry into his conduct. Then, if against the person accused there appears a fair probability of guilt, he, (the commanding officer) convokes the permanent council in his division—and before this council the offender is brought.

The tribunal hears the accusation, the witnesses on both sides, the defence, and then pronounces sentence. If three out of seven members declare the accused innocent, he is at once discharged—if five pronounce him guilty, the commissary of the King demands the application of the law against him.

The president reads the law, and again, if five determine on the same punishment, that one is adopted; if not, the opinion in favour of the mildest sentence is the one acted upon.

The criminal is then told the result of his trial, and twenty-four hours allowed him for demanding his case to be brought before a council of revision.

The council of revision can annul the sentence :—1. When the permanent council of war has not been formed in a legal manner.—2. When it shall have passed beyond its competence, either in respect to the criminal, or the laws.—3. When it shall have declared itself incompetent in the case.—4. When the trial has not been conducted properly.—5. When the punishment adjudged is not a legal one.

Within twenty-four hours after the decision of the permanent court, if the case be not adjourned to the court of revision—and immediately after the judgment of the court of re-

* For generals-in-chef or of division, for colonels, majors, and chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron, as well as for permanent military intendants, and sub-intendants, the councils of war are rather differently composed. In besieged towns, in departments in a state of trouble or civil war, councils are formed on the same principle of the best materials that can be found.

vision, if it be—the criminal, if sentenced to be put in irons, or to be sent to the galleys, or to proceed to a *compagnie de discipline*,* or to a military penitentiary,† is escorted by the gendarmes to his destination. Should he be condemned to death, he is taken back to his regiment, and there, unless a pardon or reprieve be anticipated, shot forthwith.‡

I believe great severity is required in the French military code; it has, however, been considered unnecessarily great, and whatever might be required in time of war, it appears possible to many military men in France, to do without the punishment of death in time of peace, except in cases of murder, or perhaps treason. Acts of mere insubordination are rarely the result of calculation or deliberation beforehand. They result in most cases from some momentary effervescence; and then the punishment of death, or any other penalty, is never thought of or cared for by the excited soldier. §

* There are about 2,000 men in what are called the companies of discipline —to which soldiers maiming themselves to prevent serving, or of a refractory disposition, are sent. In these companies, which are always in fortified towns, besides the ordinary military duties, the soldiers are employed in works of fortification, where the latter is in general very severe.

† The military penitentiaries are recent and experimental institutions, to which soldiers, whom there may be the hope of reclaiming, are sent to instead of to the galleys. Here the prisoners are employed in different useful trades, receive the elements of instruction, and have a careful attention paid to their comparative conduct.

‡ There are, besides the great military tribunals that I have described, two for the officers, and one for the soldiers of a secondary description.

Those for the officers are called *conseils d'enquête* (councils of inquiry); and those for the soldiers *conseils de discipline* (councils of discipline.)

The *conseils d'enquête* are divided into *conseils de divisions* (councils of division), and *conseils de régiment* (regimental councils).

The first concerns all officers in a division as high as the rank of colonel; the second the inferior officers of a regiment.

These councils take cognizance of such offences as become sufficiently serious to disturb the good order of the army, though they do not subject the offender to the military code. And they can punish by suspension of rank or employment.

The *conseil de discipline* (council of discipline), is for offences of the same description. and may send a soldier to the *compagnie de discipline* (discipline company).

§ It may be here worth observing, that in the same year which I have been speaking of in France, as giving the result upon 388,000 men, of 6,858 committals on serious offences, there were within our force in Ireland and Great Britain, (about 50,000 men,) 920 soldiers in gaol, while 370 corporal punishments took place in the same year.

If some offences, however, are punished so severely in the French army, others receive a mild and honourable chastisement, directed especially at the mind of the soldier and that sentiment which is the basis of his service.

These smaller punishments are the *corvée*, (excessive labour) a *consigne au quartier* (confinement to his quarter) —*la salle de police* (imprisonment)—the *cachot* (dungeon) —and interdiction to carry his sabre out of the ranks. The small faults or negligences are all punished by the *corvée*, or by confinement to quarters. The *corvée* is work imposed on the soldier, who is obliged, when not on duty, to devote himself to it, and is generally both of a tiresome and fatiguing description. He is made to bring the soup into town for his comrades on guard; to carry forage, and do any other menial offices required. The punishment of confinement to his quarters, in addition to his being interdicted from leaving his barracks, subjects him also to those portions of the punishment I have just described, which can be performed in quarters. He is besides placed in a corps which is designated the *peloton de punition*, which *peloton* is commanded by a *non*-commissioned officer equally confined; and here the sergeant and soldier, if they do not pay the same attention to their duty as in ordinary exercise, are subjected to a continuation of their punishment. Sometimes the nature of the offence will be printed in large letters, and the soldier made to appear with it on his jacket turned inside out; a punishment sufficiently humiliating to him, especially when the exercise which he is obliged to go through is performed in some public place out of the barracks.

La salle de police includes the above punishments; but the culprit, in addition, is deprived of his room and bed, and obliged to sleep on bare plank—his duty and exercise continuing as before. The *prison* only differs from the *salle de police*, in this, that the offender is immediately locked up when he has performed either his military service, or the degrading duties of the other punishments. *Le cachot* is close imprisonment. The prohibition to carry his side-arms when off duty, another punishment which I have mentioned, attacks the *amour-propre* of the French soldier, and is invariably found to be equally se-

vere and effective. In order, indeed, to give it the appearance of great degradation, the colonel has only the power of interdicting the soldier from carrying his side-arms for the space of sixty days; it requires the general of the division to prolong that term.

Every superior has the right to punish his inferior for any fault he may be guilty of. But the law provides and specifies the amount of the punishment, which *cannot be exceeded*. From the corporal, who can inflict four days' confinement to the barracks, or two days to the *salle de police*, up to the colonel, who can sentence to a month's confinement to the barracks, and fifteen days to the *cachot;* the different powers of the various ranks of officers, in everything concerning these punishments, are explained and determined by military regulations; at the same time the *colonel* has, of course, the power to augment or diminish the punishment, or to pardon the offence if he thinks proper. He is entitled also to punish the superior officer who has exceeded or abused his authority in inflicting an extravagant or unmerited punishment on his inferior.

The faults of the most frequent occurrence are generally the lightest, and are punished as soon as committed. But even when any of these trifling delinquencies are frequently repeated by the same individual, and when any species of incorrigibility is exhibited, the punishment very properly becomes more severe. A non-commissioned officer, or corporal, or soldier of the first class, is degraded. This punishment, which affects the future prospects of the offender, is, however, considered an exceedingly severe one, and but rarely inflicted, except when all other means of correction have been tried and failed. The degradation is inflicted in the French army in presence of the regiment on parade.

Punishment of Officers.—The severer punishments of the officers are regulated, of course, by the ordinary provisions of the military code: the minor punishments to which they are subjected, are, simple arrests, reprimand, close arrests, imprisonment. The *simple arrests* oblige the officer to confine himself to his chamber, without authority to leave it, but when

called to perform his military duty, from which it would appear that he is not even provisionally suspended. The *reprimand*, which must proceed from the colonel, or officer in command of the regiment, is given to the officer in presence of one or more of his brother officers. *Close arrest* does not permit the officer to leave his room under any pretext, nor receive any person there, but under express authorization of his commanding officer. A sentinel is generally placed at his door, and an inferior officer is sent to demand and take away his sword. Confinement in *prison*, is only resorted to in very serious cases. The colonel can sentence an officer to fifteen days;—the lieutenant-general or the minister at war can only exceed that period.

One peculiarity which I may notice is, that it is the duty of the officer punished, when that punishment has been undergone, to make a formal visit to the colonel or commandant by whose orders it was inflicted. He must be accompanied by an officer of his own rank, and by another of a superior grade, and the visit must be gone through with all the established forms of politeness. It will not do to leave a card at the colonel's door; the colonel takes care to inform the punished officer of the day and the hour on which he will have the honour of receiving him.

The military ordonnance, which prescribes these details, has had in view the wish to re-establish, by the visit, the good understanding which it supposes the punishment of the officer may have broken; this may be a reasonable supposition, perhaps, where the fault and the punishment have been both trifling, or where the officer is conscious of his error and is glad of the opportunity to redeem it. But it too often happens that this formal visit renders more inveterate the private feelings of hatred that may have existed before. When an officer conceives that he has been unjustly treated, or punished with unnecessary severity, such a visit, it may easily be imagined, can only be regarded by him as an addition to the treatment he complains of; and he can scarcely be expected to use such language, or to conduct himself so guardedly, as to fulfil the praiseworthy object for which the visit was ordered. It happens, therefore, but too frequently, that in place of

friendship being renewed, and peace restored among the parties, a new and more implacable enmity commences, finally terminated by the death of one or other of the parties.*

Habits, &c.—Exercise of the person, racing, dancing, horsemanship, and all the exercises which are calculated to strengthen the constitution, and to develop address and agility, and daring on horseback, are encouraged among the troops. Gymnasiums have been established for this purpose in the principal garrisons, where a master in each of these different sorts of exercise directs the young soldiers. In fine weather they are occupied daily in learning to swim, and in the exercise of swimming, as well as in swimming their horses across a river or a pond of sufficient depth. It is especially in the art of fencing that the soldiers are taught to excel. To be a good fencer is considered a great honour in the French army. Care is taken to give great solemnity to the competitions among the good swordsmen, so as to preserve the taste for this sort of exercise. It is easy to suppose that the practice of this art renders quarrels of very frequent occurrence—nothing, in fact, is more common than duelling among the soldiers. It might be in vain to oppose this propensity, but the chiefs of the corps seem rather to encourage it than otherwise, for, although they punish the offender with fifteen days' imprisonment, if he accept a challenge, they are the first to testify their contempt, and endeavour by all means in their power to expel him the army, if he decline one.

The life of the soldier in some measure resembles that of a monk. He passes as much time in the barrack as the monk does in the monastery. He has no connexion with the interior of a city. Scarcely has he time to make a slight acquaintance in the place where he is in garrison, before he receives orders to march to another quarter, where he is an utter stranger. The change of garrisons takes place very frequently, and it would seem as if the government adopted the plan for the purpose of isolating more and more the soldier, and preventing his forming too close a relationship with the

* In some cases, indeed, where this visit is considered too painful for the feelings of the officer forced to make it, it is dispensed with.

people. The very ties which bind him to his family are attempted to be broken, for he is only permitted under the most pressing circumstances to visit his relations; and to marry is almost prohibited him. The officer, it is true, may marry, but *only* on the authorization of the minister of war, who never consents but in cases where the *pecuniary interests* of the officer are to be *benefitted*. The colonel of a regiment has also the power of granting permission to the non-commissioned officers, and even to the soldiers under him to marry; but it is only under very peculiar circumstances that this favour is allowed; it occurs, therefore, but very rarely; and in fact, is almost entirely confined to the soldiers who wish to marry some woman who may be useful to the regiment as *cantinière* or washer-woman.*

But while every endeavour is made to break the links which connect the soldier with the mass of the people, every incitement and encouragement to maintain *l'esprit du corps* is given. The men of the same company, or troop, live together; they are expected to support and defend each other mutually, and the chief subaltern of the party is instructed to keep up this sentiment of fraternity, by punishment, as well as by recompense. If one man conduct himself badly, it often happens that all his party come in for a share of his punishment, as if the whole company were considered responsible for the conduct of any one of its members. If, on the contrary, the man acquire merited praise, either from some act of public service or private conduct, the company again comes in for a share of the eulogy to the individual, and is recompensed in a body, by some small favours, as an exemption from roll-call and the like.

What I have said of the company applies equally to the battalion, to the regiment, and to the brigade. It not unfrequently happens, when there is an unusual assemblage of troops, that some quarrel may spring up between two regiments, and it is then observed that other regiments take part on one side or the

* These regulations, it is to be observed, are not so severe as they may, with our own military habits, at first appear, because the soldier passes merely through the army in transition, and can in a short time return to the affections and habits of a civilian.

other, as they seem to be connected with the immediate parties, in respect to their similarity of military discipline. I remember seeing a singular quarrel of this description, which almost ended in a general battle between the infantry and cavalry at Versailles.

Promotion.—We are now come to the distinguishing feature of the French army, the principle of which, in fact, regulates and remedies the various parts of the system we have been considering.

The small pay, the severe discipline of the French soldier, must have struck us on the one side; the constant appeals to his honour and his love for his profession, must also have struck us on the other. What makes this severe discipline and small pay supportable? From what cause does the military pride which characterizes him proceed?

It is his method of promotion. The man who enters at fourpence halfpenny a day in the ranks, may become, nay, has become, one of the highest persons in the state. "The soldier carries in his *giberne*," (cartouch box,) said Napoleon, "the bâton of a marshal of France."

During the empire, the battle quickly cleared the intermediate spaces between subaltern and superior ranks. The restoration, desirous of encouraging the young nobility to arms, would gladly have given the same celerity to favour that had attended upon peril; here, however, the nation interposed.

In 1816 a law was passed regulating promotion; and this law, anxious only to fetter the court, cramped and depressed the military ardour, which the natural spirit of the people and their long train of conquests had tended, of late more especially, to develop. By this law, no person could pass from one rank to another without four years service in the preceding grade. Not the greatest favourite could obtain the rank of colonel until eighteen years had been passed in climbing the long ladder of inferior steps.

Nothing was more fatal to the old monarchy than this very law; for it drove all the nobility, and the richer and higher classes of society out of it, and thus, with the exception of a few regiments, the army in general was entirely democratic and

easily disposed, when a contest arose, to take the same views and the same course as the people.

In 1832, the new government, though composed of many of the men who contended for the law of 1816, presented another law entirely opposed to it. It is no longer, then, now, as under the restoration, an interval of four years of service in each grade, that renders the officer qualified for promotion. It is sufficient that he has served two years in an inferior, or three years in a superior, to be eligible to higher rank. There is also this difference between the two laws, that the present law requires a longer service in the superior rank than in the inferior; while the law of 1816, on the contrary, required longer service and, in consequence, more experience from the subaltern than from the superior officer, which was evidently an absurdity. This law has likewise guarded against favouritism, by being more favourable to seniority. The law of 1816 allowed only a third of the nominations to seniority, that of 1832 gives the moiety; with the exception, however, of the ranks of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and general, where age cannot reasonably be taken as the title for elevation.*

According to this new law, the time necessary to pass from one grade to another is thus regulated: —Six months service for a soldier to become a soldier of the first class;—Six months for a soldier of the first class to become *corporal* in the infantry, or *brigadier* in the cavalry;—Six months for a corporal or *brigadier* to become sergeant in the infantry, or *maréchal des logis* or *fourrier* in the cavalry;—six months sergeant or *maréchal de logis* to become sergeant major, or *maréchal des logis chef*;—six months sergeant-major or *maréchal des logis chef* to become *adjudant-sous-officier*;—three years service to become *sous-lieutenant*—the first and lowest rank of a commissioned officer;—two years service as a sub-lieutenant, to become lieutenant;—two years lieutenant to become captain; —two years captain to become *chef de bataillon* in the infantry, or *chef-d'escadron* in the cavalry;—three years major (the above ranks are equivalent to that of major in our service)

* It seems sufficient for officers to arrive to the rank of major with no other title to merit than their age.

to become lieutenant-colonel;—three years lieutenant-colonel to become colonel;—three years colonel to become *maréchal de camp*;—three years in this last rank to become lieutenant-general; that grade in the military hierarchy, above which the only dignity is *maréchal de France*.

It is thus seen, that the simple soldier rises as the rest, if his education and good conduct qualify him for promotion. Indeed, the law I have been quoting assigns a third of the nominations of sub-lieutenant to soldiers rising from the ranks*—the remaining two-thirds being reserved, one for the pupils of the military schools; and the other for the particular choice of the King.

Since the revolution of July, it has so happened that many officers of different corps having left the service, it became necessary to raise a great number of non-commissioned officers in each regiment, to the rank of officers.

This circumstance has been considered highly favourable to the good disposition of the army, and has awakened in the body of the non-commissioned officers, those hopes of distinction and promotion which attached them to the empire, a circumstance of which it is impossible to over-estimate the effects.

The non-commissioned officer lives with the soldier; and there being no aristocratic feelings operating against him, exercises almost an absolute authority over his inferior. A body of unruly or undisciplined non-commissioned officers carry with them in a revolt the entire regiment, and can equally in times of trouble secure its discipline and obedience.

I have said that one-third of the commissions are given to the military schools; it will be interesting to say something of these.

The *Ecole Polytechnique* (Polytechnic school) at Paris is exclusively for artillery and engineers, and on quitting it, the young officer goes for two years to the *Ecole d'application d'Artillerie et du Génie* (the school for the artillery and engineers) at Metz.

The *Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr* (the military school of St. Cyr) is for young officers of the line, who, if they pass an

* Not only does the soldier in these cases give nothing for his commission, but he is made an allowance, when he receives it, for his equipment.

examination at the end of two years, are made sub-lieutenants. The admission to this school is in itself submitted to an examination, and can only be the result of successful competition.

On the 20th July every year this examination takes place in all the principal towns in France, the names of the candidates having been previously inscribed on the 10th June. The candidates must be not less than eighteen, nor more than twenty-one years of age.

The examination is in Latin, French, German, arithmetic, algebra, chemistry, geography, and history; and after these different local examinations, a jury at Paris, composed of three general officers, four special examiners, the commandant of the school of St. Cyr, the director of the studies of that academy, and a president, decides on the various claims.

The pupils pay 250 francs on admission for their trousseau, and 1,800 francs per annum;* on quitting St. Cyr, some are engaged in the duties of sub-lieutenant in the infantry, and others, a privileged class, in consequence of having obtained the prizes at the school competitions, pass two additional years at the *Ecole spécial de l'état major* (school special for the staff), after which they can serve in the capacity of aid-de camp to a general, or be employed on the staff. Some again, destined for the cavalry, are sent to the *Ecole de Cavalerie de Saumur*, where they are taught riding and the service of the cavalry, and there qualify themselves to take rank among the officers of the cavalry regiments. In this school, which is one of the finest establishments of the sort in Europe, three classes receive a complete military education. The first class is composed of captains, lieutenants, and cornets of each regiment, who, at the end of two years' study, rejoin their corps and carry there, in quality of *instructors*, the knowledge which they have acquired during their residence at Saumur. The second is formed of young officers from St. Cyr, and the third of young volunteers who at the end of two years proceed, with the rank of non-commissioned officers, to the regiments of ca-

* One in every twenty-five is received and educated gratuitously. These must be persons in distress, and the children of officers in the army.

valry as *maréchaux des logis instructeurs* (instructors), and assist the principal *instructeur* (instructor) in the education of the soldiers.

The *Ecole d'état major* (school for the staff) is for officers destined for that branch of service. The scholars are admitted after an examination, at which, out of 60 candidates, 22 are chosen.

The candidates are of two descriptions,—30 from the military schools, and 30 from the army.

To these, three are added from the Ecole Polytechnique. The 25 entering form the first division; the 25 who have already been a year, the second. At the end of two years the scholars leave.

The military professors are:—1 of topography and of geodesia; 1 of geography, astronomy, and statistics; 1 of artillery; 1 of the military art, and of the service of the état-major; 1 of fortification, attack, and defence of fortresses; and 1 of military administration.

Besides, the chef de bataillon, charged with the police of the school, explains the theory of the manœuvres of infantry, and one of the capitaines-adjoints the theory of cavalry manœuvres.

The civil professors are:—1 *de machines et de lavis;* 1 of drawing landscape, shades, and perspective; and 2 of the German language.

The scholars are in barracks, but enjoy every liberty compatible with their studies.

Besides these principal schools, there are still others, called *écoles régimentaires*, which serve for the instruction of non-commissioned officers and soldiers; teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, &c.

I have now run shortly over the principal features of the French army.

First, its administration which is very remarkable,

Secondly, its composition and formation, the striking circumstance of which is, the superior class of persons which by conscription it obtains.

And thirdly, its discipline sustained by the balance of severe

punishment on the one side, and great encouragement on the other: but, in reference to the encouragement given to military talent, I ought to say something of that institution which, though not wholly military, has been the greatest incentive to military ability, and furnishes at the present moment an example in every respect worthy of imitation to the rest of Europe;—I mean "the Institution of the Legion of Honour."

Legion of Honour.—The royal order of the Legion of Honour was instituted by the law of the 29th *floréal*, year 10, to recompense military and civil virtues and services.

The order is composed of:

Chevaliers, of whom the number is unlimited.	
Officers.	2,000
Commanders.	400
Grand officers.	160
Grand-crosses.	80

Neither foreigners nor princes of the royal family are included in these numbers. The members swear fidelity to the King, to the charter and the laws.

No one can be admitted but with the first grade as chevalier, and the ordinary regulation requires twenty-five years service during peace* in civil or military functions. In time of war, a brave or brilliant action, or a severe wound, are deemed sufficient authorization for admission. The exception to the former rule is indeed so frequent that it is sufficient to say the King can grant the honour of the order to any person distinguished for his services, in the military or civil departments, or for any benefit he may have conferred upon the sciences or arts.

But to rise to a superior rank, it is indispensable to have passed through the inferior ranks, viz:— 1. For the rank of officer, it is necessary to have served four years as a chevalier. 2. For the rank of commander,—two years as an officer. 3. For the rank of grand officer,—three years as a commander. 4. For the rank of grand cross,—five years as a grand officer.

When any promotions are to take place, the King determines

* A year in time of war counts to the soldier as two.

the number of decorations of each grade—and a distribution is made by the grand-chancellor of the order, in the following proportion, 40 in 40.

2	to the Minister of	Justice and Religion.
1	»	Foreign Affairs.
5	»	Home Affairs.
2	»	Public Works.
2	»	Finances.
20	»	War.
5	»	Marine.
1	»	Public Instruction.
2	»	the Grand Chancellerie.
40		

To every person decorated with this order, certain military honours are due on all public occasions, and at all times a soldier on duty presents arms on seeing the decoration.

The salaries are as follows:—Officers, 1,000 fr.; commander, 2,000 fr.; grand officers, 5,000 fr.; and grand crosses, 5,000 fr. All other members of inferior grade, 250 fr.

A colonel may recommend the officers and soldiers of his regiment in the subjoined proportion.

Infantry line.

1 Officer for the Cross of Officer.

6 officers 3 subaltern officers or soldiers	or	Regt. of 3 Battalions.	For the Cross of Chevalier.
4 Officers 2 Subaltern officers or soldiers	or	Regt. of 2 Battalions.	For the Cross of Chevalier.

CAVALRY.

1 Officer for the Cross of Officer.

3 Officers 1 Subaltern officer or soldier	or		For the Cross of Chevalier.

There are, besides the order of the Legion of Honour,—The order of St. Esprit, St. Michel, and Mérite Militaire.

It is with extreme deference to military authorities that I venture on a few concluding remarks.

What I have been saying will have struck three classes of persons, I imagine, in three different manners.

The economist will have compared the four-pence ½d. a-

week given to the French soldier, with the thirteen pence given to the British.

The philanthropist will have compared the mental punishment inflicted on the French soldier, in many instances, and which raises his character, with the corporal punishment, in the same cases, inflicted on the British soldier, by which his character is degraded.

And the soldier himself will have compared the facilities for attaining military distinction in the one country, and the impediments placed in the way of his attaining military distinction in the other.

Exaggeration upon all these subjects is no doubt likely to arise.

The British soldier is not paid so much more than the French soldier, when you consider, first, the different expenses of washing, and many minor necessaries in France; especially when you see that the messing of the British soldier is eightpence, and that of the French three-pence.

Neither is the punishment so much less severe in the French service than in the English, because, if the English soldier is sometimes flogged when the French soldier would not be so, the French soldier is sometimes shot where the English one would be flogged.

Neither is the hardship in respect to promotion entirely the same, as long as the two systems remain upon their present footing.

The English army is recruited by volunteers from the working class of England; that is to say, it is from the most destitute of a class, the great bulk of which is in a miserable state, and removed almost altogether, as well from the habits as the feelings of their country, from rising much above their native condition.

The French army, on the contrary, is recruited, not by volunteers of the working class, but by conscripts from every class, and the injustice would be terrible if you forced a man of fair prospects and education, to whom all professions were open, to engage in the army, and then did not allow him any chance of advancing himself in the service into which you had compelled him to enter.

The two armies are not to be compared as if the state of government and the state of society were the same in the two countries; they are to be contrasted as the results of two governments and two states of society entirely different.

I have painted in deplorable colours the condition of the British soldier. He is shown me in the heart of Asia panting beneath a tropical sun, subjected to the lash, unvisited by any gleam of promotion; and I am asked, is twenty-five years such service the melancholy vista through which he has to look for sixpence a day?

God knows, I think the case cruel and severe enough! *

But see what his case would have been at home! Would he have been happier as a Sussex labourer, or a handloom weaver, or even a cotton spinner, in his native country?

Now starved, now intoxicated, with his children here in the workhouse, and there in the factory! the situation of the British soldier is relative to the situation that he would have held if he had not been a soldier, and of this you have the best assurance in the voluntary nature of his service. His punishments, his advancement, are all according to the ideas which prevail in respect to the class he belongs to, and the position which, if a citizen, he would have filled.

You offer him a decent maintenance; this he expects if he works, because, as a peasant, he can get a scanty maintenance by law, if he does not work. You subject him to a life of much hardship and much constraint; this he submits to if he is paid, because, as a peasant, he would have also been subjected to severe toil and much constraint.

You do not offer him much prospect of rising in the army, because he enjoyed, poor fellow, little prospect of rising in the world! He is the creature of your laws and your habits, which declare that no man is to be compelled to any thing except by

* If any effective regulations can be made to remedy this, they might be, first, in relation to corporal punishment; secondly, in respect to pensions, and time of service. Better men might possibly enter the army, if the release they expected was of shorter date; and at all events, it would be fairer and kinder to give a more frequent opinion. A scale of pensions, not disadvantageous to the government, might easily be devised, favouring this,—allowing more than we now give after twenty-five years of service, and admitting the retirement on a small pension, or by purchase, at much shorter dates.

poverty, and, at the same time, subject the great masses of society to this law of voluntary compulsion.

All is liberty, if you please to call it so, and inequality.

In France it is just the reverse. In the first place, the law, by what we should call an arbitrary enactment, has diffused the advantages of fortune amongst all persons; and, in the second place, it has, by another arbitrary enactment, forced all persons to be soldiers.

You are not, then, in looking at the army, to consider merely the army, but the state of society from which the army comes.

Every part of a system is much more interwoven with the whole than we are at first sight disposed to imagine: we place property in a few hands. Our next consequence must be —in order to preserve property—to place power in a few hands also.

What follows?—the high ranks are for the rich, the low for the poor.

Apply this to the army!—Your officers buy their commissions;—your ranks are filled with the desperate and the starving. This army for a time serves the country it belongs to well, in spite of all theories to the contrary, because it reflects the society of that country where the rich are used to command and the poor to obey. But other notions in respect to society and government spring up; we discover things which we deem ought to be remedied. The first practice in medicine and legislation is to attack symptoms; it is not until after much experience that we really assail the disease. But the same distemper shows itself differently in different persons, and is met for a time in different ways.

You wish to elevate the working classes, and you make laws against pauperism; you wish to elevate the soldiery, and you make regulations against flagellation. You will come at last to some fact which lies at the bottom of all this.

National Guard. I shall now say one or two words on the civil force of France, which has occupied more or less of our attention of late years.

The National Guard was re-organized by a law of the 22nd March, 1831.

Every Frenchman, aged from twenty to sixty years, is obliged to serve in the district in which he is domiciled, with a few exceptions provided for by the law.

The service is divided into—service in the interior of the commune; and into—service by detachment out of the territory of the commune; *i. e.* the service of detached corps for the purpose of aiding the troops of the line.*

There is the ordinary service, comprising all citizens who pay a personal contribution; and there is a reserve, comprising all citizens for whom the habitual service would be too onerous; these latter are only called out under extraordinary circumstances.

A national guard of cavalry may also be formed in any commune or canton where it may be judged useful or necessary, always providing that *ten* persons will undertake to equip and furnish themselves with horses at their own expense.

In all fortified places there are companies of artillery.

There are, besides, companies of *sapeur-pompiers* in places where they do not exist, as belonging to the line; and in the sea-ports, companies of marines are also formed.

The punishments, in cases of disobedience or infraction of the regulations, are applied by a council of discipline, composed of a captain, as president, a lieutenant or sub-lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and a private.

The government furnishes clothing, arms, and equipment, on the demand of those who have not themselves the means to purchase their outfit.

The national guards wounded in the service are entitled to the same indemnities as the troops of the line.

The King has power to dissolve the national guard at his pleasure, either entirely or by companies in the different districts.

* When the national guard furnishes detached corps for the defence of fortified towns on the frontiers, the service can only last for twelve months. In such cases, the national guards are subject to the laws of the army, and receive the same treatment and pay.

The object of the government in respect to this force is, to have it as much a local one as possible; and its formation is subject to the regulations most likely to effect this.

A commune, where it is possible, furnishes a company, and the adjoining parts of it a sub-division of a company.

FORMATION OF COMPANIES.

SUB-DIVISION OF A COMPANY.

	14 years.	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50
Lieutenants .	0	0	0	1	1
Sub-lieuts. .	0	1	1	1	1
Serjeants. .	1	1	2	2	3
Corporals. .	1	2	4	4	6
Drummers. .	0	0	0	1	1

The ordinary force of a company is from 60 to 200 persons, according to the populousness of the locality; but if a commune can only furnish 50 men, that number forms a company.

A COMPANY CONSISTS OF

	50 to 80	80 to 100	100 to 140	140 to 200
1st Captain. . .	1	1	1	1
2nd Captain. . .	0	0	0	1
Lieutenants. . .	1	1	2	2
Sub-lieuts. . . .	1	2	2	2
Serj. Major. . .	1	1	1	1
Serj. Fourrier. .	1	1	1	1
Serjeants. . . .	4	6	6	8
Corporals. . . .	8	12	12	16
Drummers. . .	1	2	2	2

A battalion must be formed of four companies at least and eight at most.

The staff of a battalion is as follows:—A chef de battaillon.—Captain adjutant major.—A standard bearer sub-lieutenant.—A surgeon adjutant major.—An adjutant subaltern officer.—And a tambour maître.

If more than one company is formed in any commune, the companies coming from the same commune cannot be allotted to different battallions.

In those cantons or towns where there are two battalions of 500 men each, these may be united into a legion, and in those

communes which furnish more legions than one, these may be united under a commander-in-chief—who is named by the King.

All the officers up to, and including, the captain in each company, are chosen by the persons designated to form it.

The chef de bataillon, and standard bearer of the battalion, are chosen by the officers and non-commissioned officers of that battaillon.

The chefs de légion and the lieutenant-colonels are chosen by the King, out of a list of ten candidates, designated by the persons who choose the chef de bataillon.

These are the principal regulations in respect to this municipal force intended to be at once an aid and check upon the army of the line, and placed under the authority of the mayors, prefects, and sub-prefects, as delegates of the minister of the interior;—who is to the national guard what the minister of war is to the army.

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER XI.

Concluding Remarks.

I TRUST that I have not proceeded thus far, wading as a matter of necessity through many dry details, without conducting the reader, who has been patient enough to accompany me, to some knowledge of the matter we set out in quest of.

I mean, the civil and military administration of France—under a system of centralization.

We have seen the whole receipts and expenditure of the government managed by one office, and the accounts of a country thus kept with the exactitude of a counting-house; while every local budget is also brought under the eye of the executive, which learns in this manner, not only how much

the state requires for its common purposes, but how much the village requires for its especial ones.

We have seen all the tribunals of the law centralized in a particular court, and the administration of the laws also centralized in a particular ministry; the one preserving a universality in the decrees of justice, and the other, a universality in its motion.

We have seen, too, the system which detects or prevents the crime in harmony with that which judges the criminal; all the powers of pursuit directed by one hand, and all the duties of inspection centered in one great eye, which casts its regard over the whole empire, tracing by an especial process the footsteps of every individual, and watching with equal vigilance the petty felon who is stealing a watch, and the state criminal who is plotting a revolution.

We have seen the instruction of the people as well as the prosecution of the criminal, also considered a state affair, and entrusted to a ministry, the centre of a variety of ramifications, by which the branches of education are at once controlled and provided for.

We have seen even commerce and manufactures connected by a series of links with the department which presides over their prosperity, carried from the country to the towns—from the towns to the capital, and in the capital placed under a public functionary with whom they communicate.

We have seen the administration of the interior of the country extending like so many branches from a parent tree—which defends the region where it flourishes from many evils by the extent of its vast shadow—but prevents the growth of many advantages therein, by the extent of its vast roots.

We have seen, moreover, the elements of conquest combined in the same manner as the elements of peace. The military administration conducted on the same principle as the civil; and an immense army paid, punished, promoted, maintained, disbanded by one public officer, before whom every possible consideration is brought, and by whom every order is given.

The force which is to preserve France from aggression, is framed indeed on different principles from that which is to

opportunity of sifting statements, and comparing interests. In short, it gives to an able man immense facility in thoroughly understanding that important branch of administration over which he presides. But it also gives to the interests of the producer which are centralized and represented, a great superiority over those of the consumer, which are not so, and has, no doubt, had a sensible influence over the commercial policy which, in contradiction to our remonstrances, France still determines on pursuing.

The interior administration of the country, which is, in fact, the administration of the minister of the interior, though I mention it last, more especially deserves our consideration.

Wherever the aristocracy is in England, the government is is in France. The magistrates are paid by—and attached to—the government. The Lord Lieutenants are paid by—and attached to—the government. As far as this goes, there is much to say not only against but in favour of the plan. It collects power, but it collects responsibility also, round one authority. It extinguishes the influence of all petty and local passions, and it gives to the administration, which is answerable for the peace of the country, a proper control over those who are appointed to preserve it.

That even the mayor should be an officer appointed by the crown is defensible; for, if otherwise chosen, he must in many places be an enemy of the state.

But the question most disputed and most disputable is the power which the government has, and which the government exercises, of interfering in all those minor affairs of expenditure and improvement, which it would appear that the locality itself might best decide on.

Not only cannot a commune determine its own expenses without the consent of the minister or one of his deputed functionaries, it cannot even erect a building, the cost of which shall have been sanctioned, without the plan being adopted by a board of public works attached to the central authority, and having the supervision and direction of every public building throughout the kingdom.

The arguments in support of this are many and plausible. In the first place, its advocates say, "the power of the minister

is only an economic one; he cannot compel the communes to any expense, but simply prevent or moderate the expenses they are anxious to incur. What motive can he have for exercising this authority that would make it likely that he should abuse it? Is he not rather likely to sanction than to refuse an undertaking which the inhabitants of the place consent to, and which, if successful, illustrates his administration?

Is not the board of works, too, composed of skilful architects and engineers, better able to furnish an elegant design, or to correct a bad one, than the village mason?

Is it not in this manner that France may be enriched, even in her remote hamlets, by the taste which presides in her capital; and edifices, really beautiful, erected at the same, or even at a less cost, than some monstrous pile of bricks and mortar would be, if provincial barbarism had no check upon its inventions?

All these are plausible arguments and easy to find, because, as there is no good without its evil, so there is no evil without its good. But they disappear at once, as merely involving small questions of detail, when, taking a broader view of the question, we look at human nature as the guide to legislation, and consider what breathes into a people that spirit and that energy which are the real elements of national greatness. The Indians teach their children to swim, by throwing them into the water beyond their depth. We learn most things in the same manner, by having to struggle against difficulties, and being left to our own resources.

What then is the consideration of a commune's accidental extravagance, or a prison's or a hospital's inelegant construction, compared with that habit of acting for ourselves, and thinking for ourselves, and relying upon ourselves, which gives not only to individuals, but to nations, that invaluable moral property which we call "character," and which never abandons us in any moment of our lives.

Centralization in a government is an excellent thing, providing you can place a proper control upon it, where the object is general; but it is, upon the whole, a foolish and an inexpedient thing where the object is local.

Of the army, I have spoken at such length and in such de-

tail, that if I pause upon it here again, it can only be to say, that the system under which it moves seems the best calculated to give a terrible energy to this terrible force; which, strange to say, is less likely to be hostile to liberty from the greatest innovation of its rights; for in forcing the citizen to become the soldier, we leave the soldier also in a great degree the citizen.

A militia or national guard is an institution well adapted to a military people, like the Prussians and the French, who amused by the drum and the uniform, give up their time, without reluctance, to bearing the duties of a soldier, while they retain all the tastes and principles of civil independence, guarding their country alike from the despotism of a native army, or the aggression of a foreign enemy. But to a nation of more commercial tastes and habits, it would be one of the greatest burthens, perhaps, that could possibly be imposed. Venice, Holland, and Carthage had, in the days of their glory, a mercenary force—so great, though they were brave, was their dislike to arms as a profession. And with us, who have no army to fear at home, and no aggression to apprehend from abroad, it would be difficult to find a more useless and odious, and (as it would be found to those whose time is more valuable than the pay of a soldier) a more expensive invention.*

I have thus passed, perhaps too hastily, over an immense system, the axis of which, turning by a regular and uniform motion, brings to the army on a certain day its soldiers, to the national guard its officers, to the arrondissements and departments their councillors, to the communes their corporations, mayors, and adjuncts.

Take to pieces the machinery of this system—you will see, in spite of the symmetry of the whole, a vast diversity in the parts; some of which are of the most democratic, some of the most monarchical description.

No institution is so insignificant as not to be connected, in some way, with the crown—none so exclusive as not to offer the highest honours to the people. The mayor of the smallest

* Colonel Davies, late M. P. for Worcester, had some idea, I believe, of making the proposition.

commune is the king's officer, and the son of a butcher, in a field marshal's uniform, is the chief officer in the royal palace.

It may be all very well to say that this is the same as in Turkey; there is as much difference between this and any thing that exists, or ever did exist, in Turkey, as between any two things the most opposed: for the public spirit which prevails in France is in favour of intelligence and freedom, as the public spirit in Turkey is in favour of tyranny and ignorance. Besides, it is not the King who is all powerful in France, but the King's government. Here is a difference that may alter every thing—for the government is responsible before a body, which, according to the meaning of the constitution, should be popularly elected, and in spite of which it cannot exist.

The improvements, indeed, that we may expect in modern legislation lie in the proper combination of these two principles:—a great possibility of doing good, a strong check upon the power of doing evil.

It is to the chamber of deputies then that we have now to turn; and if that chamber be not what it ought to be, *there* is the place where we should propose alterations.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

CHAPTER XII.

Right of Election—Mode of electing—Eligibility—Proceedings of the Chamber—Laws and propositions—Constituency considered and Chamber dissected.

We have been led by the last chapter to the consideration of the chamber of deputies.

I shall first state its formation, attributes, and usages, and then consider it in general relation with the government, and the system of which it forms a part.

Right of Election.—Every Frenchman, aged twenty-five years, enjoying his civil and political rights, and paying 200 fr. of direct contributions, is an elector.*

The number of electors is ascertained by the following process, which answers to our registration:

From the first to the tenth of June the mayors of the different communes in their respective cantons meet in the chef-lieu of the canton, and there, with the aid of the collectors of the taxes, revise the list of the year preceding. This list is sent by the sub-prefect of the arrondissement, with his observations, to the prefect of the department before the first of July, who in his turn revises it, stating his reasons for the decisions he comes to; the list is then printed, and deposed at the mayoralty of every commune by the 15th of August; any claims then made are judged by the prefect in council, from whom there is no appeal but to a "cour royale," which however is obliged to decide the case definitively, and *without expense.*

Mode of electing.—The chamber of deputies is composed of 459 deputies,† elected by 459 electoral colleges, each electing one deputy.

These colleges are convoked by the King, and in that town in the electoral arrondissement which he shall appoint; no discussion is allowed.‡

The college elects its president and examiners, and the election commences. A list of the electors being fixed up in the place of election, the president calls on the electors by name, and each receives from him a piece of paper open; on this piece of paper he writes the name of the candidate he prefers, folds

* Officers in the army and navy, members and correspondents of the Institut, need only pay 100 frs.

Contributions counted as direct are the land tax, the personal and furniture tax, the door and window tax, taxes on patents, and every tax levied under the title of "centimes additionnels."

† A deputy accepting a public office at home, vacates his seat, but not until the reunion of the electoral college, by which he is to be re-elected.

A minister changing from one public office to another does not vacate his seat.

‡ No armed force can be in the neighbourhood unless demanded by the college itself.

it up, and gives it back to the president, who puts it in a box placed by him for that purpose.*

The box remains open for six hours, and is closed at 3 o'clock in the evening, when its contents are immediately examined: 1. The number of papers is compared with the number of persons who have voted. 2. An examiner opens each piece of paper, and gives it to the president, who calls out the name inscribed on it; the result is then made public, and the papers burnt.

A deputy to be elected immediately, must unite one-third of the total number of votes inscribed in the college, and one-half of the votes taken in his favour.

If the scrutiny, having once taken place, does not produce this result, the bureau declares the two candidates who have got the most votes, and no other can then compete with them; the one who on the next trial has the bare majority is elected.† A college is opened for ten days, and every matter of dispute that occurs is taken down and submitted afterwards for decision to the chamber of deputies.

Eligibility.—To be eligible for the chamber,‡ the candidate must be thirty years of age, and pay 500 fr. of direct taxes (equal to an income six times the amount). Half the deputies in a department must be chosen amongst those whose political residence is in that department.§

Proceedings of the Chamber.—At the commencement of every session, the chamber is divided by lot into nine bureaux, composed, as much as possible, of an equal number of members.

* As the elector does this, an examiner takes down his name, as having voted.

† Whenever there is an equal number of votes on this occasion, the eldest has the preference.

‡ Neither a prefect, a sub-prefect, nor a receiver-general or a receiver of department, can be chosen deputy by the district in which he performs his functions. Neither general officers commanding divisions, nor procureurs du roi, nor procureurs-généraux, nor the directors of contributions, etc. can be elected within the sphere of their authority and jurisdiction; nor if they quit such post, can they be eligible there till six months after the time of their having done so.

§ When the contrary occurs, lots are drawn among the successful candidates.

Each bureau names its president and secretary.*

Each bureau discusses the question sent it by the chamber, and names a member to write a report of its opinion. When two-thirds of the bureaux declare themselves prepared, the reporters from each meet and discuss the questions amongst themselves, and then name a common reporter, who reports to the chamber twenty-four hours at least before the general discussion begins.†

For petitions there is a general commission: one member named by each bureau; it makes its report every week, in which is included the name and habitation of the petitioners, as well as the object of their request.

Except in case of dissolution, the legislative measures begun in one session continue on in the stage in which they were left, to the next.

The chamber is presided over by a president whom it chooses, and four vice-presidents.

Laws and Propositions. Every law proposed to the chamber by the King or the chamber of peers, after being read to the chamber, is sent to the bureaux.

Every member who wishes to make a proposition must sign and depose it on the president's table, to be by him communicated to the different bureaux.

If three of these are of opinion it should be developed, it will be read at the next sitting, and the deputy will fix the day when he will speak upon it.

If then approved of, it will be printed and sent back again to the bureaux, which discuss and report upon it.

On all laws the vote is secret; on other propositions it is open, unless members demand the ballot.

Here then is the chamber of deputies, proceeding with much clearness and regularity in its proceedings, having in many of its forms—the institution of its bureaux, for instance—much

* These bureaux are renewed every month.

† Besides these different bureaux, there are commissions: one for the budget, for instance, which is formed of thirty-six members, four being named by each bureau of the chamber.

There will be to this commission as many reporters as there are ministers, each reporting on the expense of a particular minister.

that we ourselves might do well to consider, if not to imitate—having in the mode of its election, also, the advantage of that ballot which we are here contending for, and which seems to be conducted with perfect safety and facility*—but only elected by persons, who possess in property fifty pounds a year—i. e. who pay 200 francs of direct taxes—a proportion of about 173-4 electors, in a country containing 32,500,000 inhabitants.

Whichever way we consider this, the result seems equally injudicious.

In the first place, the more power you confide in the executive government (and in France, it appears necessary to confide a great deal of power to the executive government), the more popular ought to be the sources from which that government rises, and the more national the control by which its abuses are to be prevented and judged.—Secondly. The more places which a government has at its disposition (and the government of France has all over France places to dispose of) the wider you must extend a representation which should be beyond such influences.—Thirdly. The more property is diffused (and property is, as we have seen, most widely diffused in France), the more safely can you diffuse political power also.—Fourthly. As is the great bulk of the people, so ought to be the majority of the representatives; and yet by so confined a qualification, you give the towns, about one-fifth of the population, a majority in the representation over the country where fortunes are more divided; in short, I see no kind of reason, except the shallow, though plausible one, viz. that if there are only 173,185 electors, there are only 126,353 who present themselves for the exercise of this right.

To a chamber taken by a phrase, this reason would suffice; but to any person at all acquainted with the natural consequence of restricted and popular institutions—the argument used to show the inutility of extending the suffrage demonstrates its necessity. Men act greatly by sympathy and emulation, and only take an interest in those affairs, about which they see their neighbours bestirring themselves.

* The small number of voters of course aids this.

The more restricted, therefore, you make the right of election, the fewer will be the persons anxious to exercise their right of electors; and an unwarrantable apathy, in respect to public affairs, becomes the best argument against the system which produces it.

What then must be the consequences of a constitution which gives the greatest circumference to the government, and the narrowest basis to the constituency?

The following is an analysis of the existing chamber, which represents pretty correctly its condition:—

Number of votes at the last Elections.

37,966	in favour of	216	Deputies, juste-milieu.
21,982	»	125	»	third party.
4,005	»	25	»	legitimist party.
16,184	»	95	»	extreme left (or liberal).
80,137				
For persons not elected 46,216				
Total voted 126,353				
Did not vote 46,832				
Electors 173,185				

SOCIAL POSITION OF PERSONS RETURNED.

Named by the government, or more or less under government influence.

ADMINISTRATION.

6 Ministers.
2 Secrétaires généraux.
2 Directeurs or inspecteurs-généraux.
39 Mayors.
1 Adjunct.

MAGISTRATURE.

19 Présidents.
3 Avocats-généraux.
5 Procureurs-généraux.
7 Procureurs du Roi.
26 Councillors.
8 Judges of civil tribunals.
4 Justices of peace.
7 The court of accounts.
17 Employed in the council of state.

ARMY.

1 Marshal of France.
13 Lieutenant-generals.
5 Camp marshals.
7 Colonels.
5 Lieutenant-colonels.
2 Chiefs of battalion.
7 Captains.
3 Military Intendants.
1 Marine Prefect.
1 Captain of corvette.
2 Engineers.

COURT.

4 Aids-de-camp to the King.
1 Ordonnance officer to the King.
4 Servants of the crown.
4 Diplomacy.

Named by the government . 204

Advocates	
Doctors	
Men of Letters	55
Manufacturers	
Bankers	
Notaries, etc.	45
Persons without any particular professions .	118
Not named by government . .	218
Under government	204
Not under government . . .	213

Such is the chamber!

Now in speaking of the places which the government had to give away, I stated them in the analysis to this volume, at 55,000; this merely takes in the most considerable, since small places and large places taken together, there are in the ministry of finance alone above 57,000.

Still, for every place to be given away, there are three persons at least who expect to obtain it, while there are not much more upon an average than three electors to each place:—a constituency then is easily bribed by expectations from its representative, and a representative, as we have seen, meets with his recompense from the minister.

Thus the body I have been considering is not what it should be—a fair check upon the executive authority, by being a fair representation of public opinion.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of past work—The amalgamation of different effects proceeding from different causes—Modern France, the consequence of former history and recent institutions—Whether the equality sprung from one and coloured by the other is compatible with free government—The effects of centralization and of a small constituency—Monarchy of the middle classes as it is, as it might be.

My title was ambitious; I undertook a great task. Is it nearly completed?—Doubtless much that I intended to say has been overlooked and forgotten! much remains to say for which neither time nor space are allowed me! and yet, reader, cast back your eyes over the road we have traversed—the view is an extensive one.

Behold again that Paris which we saw from yonder heights of *Père la Chaise*, crowded with bacchanalians, monks, cavaliers and mobs!—the recollections of fifteen centuries!

Behold again that people so gay, so witty, so warlike, and so vain, whose brow is chronicled with centuries, and whose character is still in its youth.

Behold again those revolutions, amidst which passed away a solemn and brocaded court—a terrible and sanguinary republic—a glorious and conquering empire—a prosperous but misguided monarchy!

Look at the influences which have survived; the literature, the religion, the philosophies which exist; the manner in which the soil of France is divided; the social condition which the French people enjoy; the species of government under which they are placed!—Look, I say, at these things—and here is the point where we should regard them, not one by one, but as

a whole;—and combining the past with the present, try to comprehend a country motleyed by its manners, its laws, its history, its ideas!

We see a nation fond of change and of glory from character; attached to luxury and elegance from education; a soil almost agrarianly distributed—making of its cultivators a people of proprietors, and a people of equals; a government concentrated in the hands of an executive authority, responsible before two tribunals, of which it names one, and must find it easy, except in extraordinary crises, to corrupt the other; and a public opinion founded on abstract rights, and daily more and more inclining towards liberal institutions.

In all this we have, in much, to modify the results of one circumstance by the results of another! a nation fond of change may be given to violent revolutions:—but a nation of proprietors is hostile to violent revolutions. A people of equals may depress talent as a distinction, and banish elegance as a vice: but a people glorious and luxurious, honour Genius as a divinity, and give to Taste a temple among the Arts. A government concentrated in the hands of the executive authority, controlling the power which ought to control it, may become a despotism: —but a public opinion favourable to liberty, if restrained for a time by the fear of its own excesses, can never by any species of government be ultimately crushed. How shall I describe the amalgamation of so many opposing effets, springing from so many opposing causes!

Shall I say that we find the popular feelings of the street amidst the ancient habits of a court;—a terrible machinery for despotism amidst the modern sentiments of democracy?—Before us, perhaps, is the spectacle of a people whose manners have been formed under an absolute government, and whose opinions tend to a republican government.

Indeed, in turning back once again to the volume I am concluding, its subject seems fairly enough divided into two parts;—the one referring rather to the effects of nature and of former times; the other rather to the effects of recent institutions.

Proceeding from the first—were those influences, female, literary, and military, which have made the French frivolous, literary, warlike. Proceeding from the second is—that custom

of succession, which, whether we look at literature or the press, adressing themselves to all classes—to the state, taking into its bosom all religions—to society, possessing neither grandees nor paupers—establishes on all sides, and in all things, an equality—which imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances, makes the French people what they are.

I say, "imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances," for simply to say that France is distinguished by the equality that reigns there, would not be sufficiently characterizing this peculiar nation.

That equality might exist elsewhere amongst simple tastes, as here it exists amongst ostentatious tastes—or amongst peaceful desires as here amongst warlike desires—or amongst local popular institutions, as here under a centralized administration—or amongst ideas favourable to despotism, as here amongst ideas bordering upon license.

Whether for good or evil—that equality must remain; for it is based upon the two things most difficult to alter; the distribution of property and the natural affections of the human heart. It has made the French a happy people; need it prevent them from being a free one? I say—it need not.

The centralized administration I have described may be favoured by it, but it is not caused by it. A people formed into a democracy may govern in their villages as in their capital. Of this America is an example—if they do not wish to do so, it is less because they are a democracy now, than because they have not been a democracy long; if they ought not to do so, it is not because they are equal amongst themselves, but because they are divided amongst themselves, and that a delegated authority from the whole of the empire, is necessary to keep together its parts. Neither need such a system be necessarily, as I have elsewhere observed, one of despotism.

If the French ministry was the result of a majority of a chamber which represented the majority of the nation—that ministry, however powerful, would be merely the most efficient organ for working out the popular will. Nay more, if the French ministry are not this—the same cause which gives a danger to the tendency of centralization, places in reality, though not perhaps in appearance, a check upon its power.

A strong government is not merely a strong administrative machine for governing the affairs of a people, it must be a strong administrative machine that governs the people as well as their affairs. Held and directed by the hands of one man, or of twenty men, it must descend, if I may use such comparison, into the nation, like the wheel of yonder vessel descends into the waters; there is the force of that mysterious engine—in those free and stormy waves!

A government, I say, must be popular to be strong, whatever the source whence that popularity springs.

Oh! but Bonaparte!

Bonaparte did not indeed appeal to his people, through electoral chambers, and liberal laws; such was not the genius of the man. He did not appeal to the reason—he appealed to the passions of the French; and the drum beating, and the tricolour flying, with victory in the van, all France followed his heels. If Bonapartes were common, charters would be waste paper.

A conqueror is beloved by a vain and martial race as long as he conquers; he has little to study but the fortunes of his sword. When kings too were anointed with a divine oil—the viceregents of God upon earth—their authority was fixed in one of the deepest recesses of the human heart, and the distant barbarian worshipped the sovereign, whose sceptre was a scourge, as he did the god of the storm which devastated his plains.

It is passed—all this:—the most revered monarchs are but men; and another Bonaparte may perchance arise in five hundred years.

Besides, a nation cannot always be at war; and to govern an active and intelligent people in peace, you must give a vent to their intelligence, a vent to their activity—that activity, that intelligence should not be out of the government, or it will destroy the government; but within the government, where it will animate the government.

Why is the press formidable to the existing state of things? Because the press appeals to the whole country, and the constitution appeals to one person in every 11,850 throughout the country. Why is the police maintained? Because it is ne-

cessary to know what the nation is thinking and doing—and the national chamber can hardly be said to represent the nation. The most popular institution is put down, the most unpopular preserved, for the same reason. The strongest species of administration that can be invented is not strong, because it does not proceed from a sufficient number of those for whom it administers.

In summing up the whole system, then, I stand again before that great fault—a confined representation. It relieves the government from a salutary restraint, but it exposes the government to a continual danger: it gives the government the appearance of arbitrary power, and at the same time really cripples the government with just apprehension: it exposes the people to the suspicion of oppression, and the state to the fear of resistance.

Let us look at the restoration!

From 1815 to 1830 the course followed was—not to choose a ministry from the majority of an assembly which represented the nation, but to obtain a majority in that assembly for some favourite minister in spite of the nation.

Thus cabinet after cabinet sustained itself. The men who had been accidentally called to power were not to be changed on any account—no; if any thing was to be altered, some fundamental part of the constitution might just be remodelled for the day, so as to disarm their opponents. The representative body became a mere political plaything. Mark the consequence!

M. de Villèle for a long time maintained his majority. But what was that majority? a veil between him and the nation he governed. Even he himself was actually blinded by that veil; —for a small constituency has this double disadvantage—*it is not inaccessible to public opinion, while it deceives a minister as to the progress of that opinion.*

What is in the nation reaches it at last—slowly, late, but it arrives. One morning the minister is in a minority in the chamber, which he has been accustomed to command; but this does not happen till he has been for years in a minority out of doors. Who then shall be his successor? a M. de Marti-

gnac—who cannot satisfy by concessions? A M. de Polignac —who cannot conquer by resistance?*

Still let us not exaggerate the evils which it is a duty to point out.

The monarchy of the middle classes, such as it exists in France, though susceptible of great improvements, is not a government (for the people to whom it is given) that can wisely be repudiated or justly despised. It has achieved, and if continued, will more perfectly perpetuate that which legislation long deemed impracticable.

I mean, a constitution containing no privileged class, and yet in which the monarch is not a cypher and the people are not slaves.

Such is the government at present;—if called upon to state what it might be with more advantage, I should describe something not wholly different, but which giving greater solidity, perhaps majesty, to the throne, would give greater power to the people, greater independence and nationality to the chamber of peers.

I should say, in short, that the best government for France, without starting forth in quest of any of those extraordinary changes which are to produce theoretical perfection, would be *a popular and splendid monarchy, supported here by a national army, there by a citizen guard—administered by a centralized administration, and having, for coadjutors, a chamber of Peers elected from the superiorities of the country, which would represent, as it were, its moral interests; and a chamber of deputies, elected by a large constituency, which would represent its material interests.*

Such a government would be consistent with the manners and the ideas I have described; it would make what belongs to old times compatible with the birth of new; and by placing

* But if a government is maintained by the army and the national guard! how is a government to know that it is supported by the army and the national guard? because they do not resist it? but men whose duty it is to obey will not resist, except in the most urgent cases, and at the latest moment.

When they resist the government, then the government cannot resist them; and thus only learns that it is disapproved by a fortunate revolution which upsets it. Surely, the science of legislation should produce some more happy result than this.

despotism under the legitimate control of a democracy, which now agitates society in opposition to the law, render possible the union of free institutions, with a confidence in the executive power.

Such a government would no doubt have its faults; but it would accord with all the predominant feelings of the French nation; and, at such a government, if the present dynasty be not overturned by some violent shock, it will—even in spite of itself—arrive.

POLICY

OF PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER XIV.

The existing government in France a government of resistance, and why it is so—Considered as to where it should resist, and how resist—Has resisted open violence, popular representation, and the Press—How far justifiable—Recent laws against the Press—How far wrong—Character of administration—Necessary policy of government.

HAVING spoken of the present state and probable prospects of the existing monarchy, I am called to the consideration of the policy by which it is now supported.

I confess that this subject is one of difficulty, and that I approach it with no common diffidence in my judgment—no common hesitation, let me add, in respect to publishing my opinions—since they differ very essentially, as well from the party by whom the present French administration is attacked with unqualified violence, as from that party by which it is with equal violence defended.

The nature of all revolutions is to beget—however necessary they have been, and however sagely they may have been conducted—a tendency to revolutions; for men always imagine they can again attempt with success, that which they have seen

done in their own time with facility. It is equally certain that no country can prosper under a perpetual series of revolutions; it follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that the ministry which succeeds a revolution, will be, by duty and position, more or less a ministry of resistance; or, as I said, nearly two years ago—"the life of a prince, sprung from a popular convulsion, will be almost always passed in struggling against popular concessions."

Indeed, if we look at that revolution in England, with which the late French revolution has been frequently compared—we shall find that severe laws against liberty were not wanting under the government of a monarch, from whose accession to power, notwithstanding, our liberties spring.

It is idle then to expect what neither history warrants, nor human nature accords. Moreover, if revolutions were ever likely to have had enemies to oppose, and agitations to subdue, it was the revolution of July. The government founded on our revolution of 1688 rested in some sort on a religious enthusiasm; the government founded on *that* revolution of 1830 had *no enthusiasm* in its favour. The superstitions of old times, favourable to hereditary right, and of new times, inclined to impossible perfection, were equally against it. The present government in France then is, I repeat it, essentially and necessarily, what its defenders have frankly declared—*a government of resistance*. The only questions that can arise, are: where it should resist—how it should resist.

Open violence must of course be met by violence; but it is no small praise, and ought to be no small pride to the party which, through different men, has almost uninterruptedly ruled—that as yet—five years having elapsed—three rebellions having taken place—not a single political scaffold has recorded the triumph of a dominant faction.

There are not many such examples in all history!

The course of civil resistance adopted, has displayed itself on two points—a refusal to extend the elective franchise beyond its present limits—and an attempt to restrict the press within narrower bounds than it was inclined to assign itself.

My own humble opinion in respect to the electoral law has been expressed, and I own that I deem a small constituency in

a constitutional government, a very great danger and a very great evil, inasmuch as that it places that government in a false position, and does not afford it the warning or the assistance it would derive from the popular sentiment having a more faithful organ of expression.

I own that I think some alteration ought to take place—*must* at no distant time take place on this subject—still the government established in 1830, though not walking with rapidity, did make a great step even on this point beyond the government which preceded it; and the present constituency of about 173,000, however small, is more than double the constituency of about 80,000 to which it succeeded.

That the doctrinal administration should resist here for a time, then, may be wrong in some of our opinions—is wrong in my opinion—but it hardly affords any just ground of violent reproach: for I am willing to admit that the result of nearly all revolutions (there are some exceptions) has been lost, when lost—by the principles on which they were founded having been carried out too suddenly and too far; and I also grant, that if there be any people in the world to whom freedom should be, if I may use the expression, cautiously measured out—it is that people, more than any other, volatile, capricious, prone to excess—amongst whom it is most necessary to create habits—and yet amongst whom habits are, with the most difficulty, created.

I come to the press, and the conduct, more especially within these few months, pursued towards it.

Now as for the object which the government had in view by that conduct, it appears a legitimate one. The laws brought forward were professedly only aimed at these things;—to preserve the person of the sovereign from abuse—and the principle of the monarchy from assault.

A state owes it to its own dignity to preserve, if possible, its first magistrate from indecent lampoons, and it can hardly be blamed for sheltering, and, if necessary, defending—not the manner in which the government is administered, but the principle on which it is founded. Resistance to the press in both these cases, then, would seem justifiable, if it were likely to attain its end by means justifiable also.

Here we arrive at the question—*how should the government resist?*

I said but a short time since, that the best defence for those who refuse to sanction immediate constitutional changes rests on this ground—that it is desirable, above all things, for a people who, in fifty years, have never ceased changing every thing, to acquire at last the habit, even if what exists is not the best, of conserving something.

But if change be undesirable, who should give the example of enduring inconvenience? The minister who tells the people to pause before attempting to make their institutions yet more liberal, ought to be most careful in showing that he is as scrupulously determined not to make those institutions less liberal.

The rule, then, which should guide any administration in their resistance to alterations in the charter is—*the charter*. Now there are some who think by the laws lately passed that this charter has been evaded in one instance, and violated in another. The evasion, they say, consists in giving the appellation of "high treason" to certain offences of the press, which are thus brought before the chamber of peers (forming a court in that peculiar instance), whereas the offences of the press were, by the constitution, expressly assigned to a jury—the violation, they say, consists in changing the constitution of the jury itself, which jury formerly voted openly, and now votes secretly; which jury formerly condemned by a majority of four, and now condemns by a majority of one. I do not, for my own part, either adopt or defend any exaggerated party charges, still I cannot help thinking that any great fundamental alterations for a momentary object must be unwise; more especially when it is wished to keep the public mind in an even course within certain constitutional channels; which channels, if you dam them up for a time, will be afterwards dangerously overflowed. They unsettle and confound people's opinions also, and make them consider that nothing is sacred, or superior to the exigencies of the hour.

Besides, they have another evil;—it is almost always necessary that they should be followed by measures of a similar

nature: for they create exaggerated suspicions which must be met by exaggerated defences and precautions, until a minister on one side, and a people on the other, are driven into a course contrary to the inclinations, the interests, and the intentions of either.*

It is on this account, indeed, that we should be more particularly regretful of late events; and here I speak, not merely as a man anxious for the prosperity of a fine and intelligent portion of the human race—but as an Englishman also anxious for the maintenance of that friendship between two nations—first at the present epoch of the world in arts and arms—whose alliance has afforded peace to Europe, and protection to the growth of liberal institutions in both countries.

That that alliance is chiefly one of opinion we well know; and yet some respectable English journals have been lately thought treasonable in France! Deeply then do I regret the circumstances which have caused this. But I would say nothing disrespectful of the ministry, from whose views in some respects I differ.

* This is a question of policy which should be well considered before we proceed to laws of repression.

Will they protect us?

To repress the *expression of opinion* is not to repress *opinion*.

There is a singular fact, to which, as it furnishes no mean argument of this, I call attention:

Under the empire the secret police cost	789,000,000
Under the restoration, from 1814 to 1818	56,000,000
Afterwards, about	2,400,000
Under M. de Martignac	1,700,000

Thus in almost an exact proportion with the silence imposed, was the watch which it was found necessary to maintain.

There is another consideration not to be forgotten. A minister should well penetrate himself with the spirit, and give to himself, as it were, the character and the nature of the government which he administers! A despotism, when it is attacked, acts with sense in being despotic; it is constituted expressly for such crisis, and has all the power that is necessary for crushing every enemy, and stifling every cry. But a government of popular forms can never long depart from the principles on which it is founded: it may exercise a power foreign to its nature for a particular time, but that temporary power, given with reluctance, is too feeble to destroy the opposition which it silences. The road of violence in such governments then is short, and they who take it are almost sure to find the hostile passions which they drive before them in their march, collected and furious—where they pause.

In the volume published in 1834, I observed that this ministry would be difficult to replace; and the short administration of three days, which made its sudden appearance and disappearance last year, showed I was not mistaken.

It is formed of able, and intelligent, and conscientious men, the greater part of whose lives has been passed in struggling for those principles to which they now, I trust but for the moment, appear opposed:—opposed, however, not, I do believe, with any evil or tyrannical intention, but from a disgust at absurdities it were wiser to overlook, from a sudden dread of difficulties almost overcome, and also, perchance, from that impatience of character which they share with their countrymen in general, and which seems the national impediment to freedom and repose.

One there is more especially, born of the revolution of 1830, whose elevation fortune favoured, and who was endowed with many of those qualities which design the leaders for troublesome times. Assailed by the most atrocious calumnies that private envy could suggest, his talent broke through the jealous fetters that would have depressed it, and carried him at once to a high position in the country, of which he had studied the history—knew the character, and possessed in his love of the arts, in his passion for glory, in his native eloquence and amiability—all the means of governing with success; surrounded by a generous youth whose hearts he might have won, and whose ardour he might have moderated, admired by a monarch whose cultivated tastes were in sympathy with his own, and holding out the hand of good fellowship to the people from whose ranks he had sprung—that minister might have been—I trust may yet be—precious to his country.

There are certain perils which governments, placed in a peculiar position, are forced to undergo; and the monarchy of July—chosen, in the heat of a revolution, from three parties—must expect the enmity of those whom it was preferred to, and of those whom it does not represent; still it has one advantage: its duties are clearly pointed out; its position plainly determined. This monarchy has to preserve the honour of France with peace; the internal tranquillity of France with

constitutional government. It stands as the representative of justice, moderation, legality, amidst the violence of contending passions and the tumult of perpetual crisis. *There is its glory, there its danger.* When reproached with its moderation, its love of peace and order, it is performing the task assigned to it;—a task difficult, but honourable; and which, owing to the courage and the discretion of its defenders, it seemed at one moment certain of accomplishing.

But a government that wishes to perpetuate itself, must above all things be faithful to its origin! One man wished to be an emperor among emperors—and he fell;—for he was naturally the popular chief among a people of soldiers. Another man wished to be absolute monarch over a nation which had received him as its constitutional king—and he fell;—for his charter was—his crown.

That charter, picked up from the pavement, where it had fallen, and blessed by a new sanction, was again placed—a popular diadem—upon the head of a monarch—justly chosen for his citizen-like virtues, his probity, his firmness, his regard for his duties and engagements. Elected by the multitude who had conquered, he was consecrated by the press for which they had fought.

His lot is to conciliate his power with the causes of his power! that he will do so, is the belief—that he may do so, is the prayer of one who, no wrangler for theoretical perfection, no advocate for successive changes, deems that having once been chosen sovereign, the continuance of his reign is best adapted to the prosperity of his country and the general interests of civilization and mankind.

Placed on the French throne, the head of the house of Orleans carried there many of the qualities of a great prince; prudent, eloquent, instructed, courageous, he has the prospect of leaving a dynasty in repose, beneath the protecting shadow of an illustrious name.

Yet is there no foundation for our affairs in desperate courses. Public as well as private life has an usurious policy —which, to satisfy the emergencies of the instant, borrows too largely from the times that will come.

Let all ministers beware of this policy—it saves for the moment—but it ruins in the end, and is equally unworthy of a people who love freedom, and of a monarchy which, with the aid of time and Providence, is well calculated to couple liberty with order.

POSTSCRIPT.

CHAPTER XV.

Two comparisons between France and England.

And now, France disappearing from our view, as I turn, not unwillingly, homewards, it may not be incurious to enter, though but cursorily, into certain comparisons that this work suggests:—i. e. to consider how far England and France resemble one another at this moment;—what period in French history admits the semblance of a parallel with that which will soon be English history, and is at this time passing before us.

At the present moment there can be no doubt that it would be impossible to find two countries, which, with institutions apparently similar, are so entirely different as those I have just mentioned. This is easily accounted for—the character and history of the two people are different, and the distribution of property amongst them is also totally different;—on these three things, which fashion society, and social habits—the movement, if not the form, of government depends. There is liberty and a powerful aristocracy in one country—a powerful aristocracy will never submit to slavery;—there is equality and a democracy in the other—a democracy will never tolerate privileges. Money and birth are respected here; power and talent there. The law does in point of fact and practice subject the poor man to the rich man in England; the law does

in point of fact and practice subject the individual to the governing authority in France. In either case the theory of the law would not do this. In France too, the lower classes have property, and are tranquil and independent; the higher are comparatively poor and servile. Talent, whether in arms, or literature, or through the press, governs both. In England, the lower class is daring, factious, and intelligent—the higher, prejudiced but high principled, and certainly not meanly avid of power—a middle order running between them, has hitherto kept these two extremes together.

In France again, you meet the government every where—the gendarme—the prefect—the police. In England all your affronts and annoyances come from individuals—the great man elbows you, the pauper taxes you, the pickpocket plunders you.

On one side of the channel the great man takes off his hat to the government, and asks for a place, but he calls his valet "his friend,"* and would not refuse to fight a duel with his "decorated" coachman. On the other side of the channel, the great man snaps his fingers at the government, sends the poacher to prison for a pheasant, and pays respect to nothing, save some greater man than he is: viz. somebody better born or wealthier.

Much of this will no doubt alter with time in both countries: nor is it difficult to feel, as I write, that we breathe the quiet air of great but healthy changes.

This brings me to consider what foundation there exists for that other comparison, not rarely made, between the period in France of 1783, and that in England of 1835.

In 1789 there was in France—a nobility much indebted, too prone to idleness and dissipation, far alienated by haughty and exclusive habits from the provincial influence it had once possessed—but proud, courageous—unwilling to take a place in the new society which had grown up above it lower than that which its ancestors occupied in the old society they overshadowed—a nobility which in the days of its power menaced the authority—in the days of its decay lived upon the bounty—

* "Mon ami!"

and in the hour of its unpopularity clung to the protection—of the crown.

At this period also there was in France a middle class rising —rich, ambitious, and disgusted at the pride of an order whose privileges had lost their charm.

An active race taken from all classes, save the aristocracy, and who, eager for employment, found in the army, in the church, in the colonies, in politics in general, that the road was obstructed to all but the peculiar set they did not belong to.

A people without property, and from a variety of circumstances (those which are operating in England, are different from those which had been operating in France) utterly without attachment to the possessors of the soil.

A church, independent of the state, with immense funds most unequally distributed—furnishing a worldly provision to the aristocracy, rather than a spiritual comfort to the people.

Corporations that had outlived their purposes, already attacked in principle and but weakly defended, even by the patrons of existing things.

A public opinion strongly in favour of changes amongst the great masses of the nation, and a public opinion as strongly against innovation amongst the fashionable circles of society.

In the royal family—one prince an advocate of liberal principles (the Comte de Provence); another forming secret societies in the army (le Comte d'Artois).

In the senate—a nobility defending itself by a distinguished and eloquent man sprung from the people (Casalès); a people assailing that nobility, and headed by the great aristocracy of the land—(the Montmorencys, Noailles, Lafayettes, Mirabeaus, Périgords).

So far some persons might fancy they traced a likeness; but, as we advance further, all resemblance disappears: for France had not a prudent monarch brought up in constitutional principles, nor a sober-charactered people, who had received a long political education, nor a bold and intelligent minister, equally remarkable for the sagacity of his views and his frank and manly manner of carrying them into execution.

Yet, if our comparisons fail, we shall have found in their pursuit two important lessons, really coinciding, if apparently opposed.

The one—that no class can stand against the liberal intelligence of its time :

The other—that a people adopting false and exaggerated notions of liberty may delay for a century the real enjoyment of it.

APPENDIX.

PRESS.

CHANGES IN RESPECT TO POST-OFFICE.

I hoped to be able, when I referred to the Appendix, to mention that some change had already been effected. Such, however, is not the case: the matter rests where it did two years ago; but a Bill is before the House, which, if carried, will make some important alterations, evincing in the meantime the government's favourable disposition. Since the article on the Press was written and printed, slight alterations have taken place, such, for instance, as the suppression of the Tribune.

I here give all the laws regulating the Press prior to the last, which, as I trust a temporary and exceptional one, I have placed apart at the end of this volume.

Loi sur le Cautionnement, le Droit de timbre et le Port des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques.

A Paris, le 14 Décembre 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi des Francais, à tous présens et à venir, salut.

Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit:

Art. 1.—Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraison et régulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

Le cautionnement sera égal aux trois quarts du taux fixé, si le journal ou écrit périodique ne paraît que deux fois par semaine.

Il sera égal à la moitié, si le journal ou écrit périodique ne paraît q'une fois par semaine.

Il sera égal au quart, si le journal ou écrit périodique paraît seulement plus d'une fois par mois.

Le cautionnement des journaux quotidiens publiés dans les départemens autres que ceux de la Seine et de Seine-et-Oise sera de huit cents francs de rente dans les villes de cinquante mille âmes et au-dessus, de cinq cents francs de rente dans les autres villes, et respectivement de la moitié de ces deux rentes pour les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui paraissent à des termes moins rapprochés.

Le gérant responsable du journal devra posséder en son propre et privé nom la totalité du cautionnement.

S'il y a plusieurs gérans responsables, ils devront posséder en leur propre et privé nom et par portions égales, la totalité du cautionnement.

Il est accordé aux gérans responsables des journaux qui auront déposé leur cautionnement à l'époque où la présente loi sera promulguée, un délai de six mois pour se conformer à ses dispositions.

La partie du cautionnement déjà fournie qui excède le taux ci-dessus fixé, sera remboursée.

ART. 2.—Le droit de timbre fixe ou de dimension, sur les journaux ou écrits périodiques, sera de six centimes pour chaque feuille de trentre décimètres carrés et au-dessus, et de trois centimes pour chaque demi-feuille de quinze décimètres carrés et au-dessous.

Tout journal ou écrit périodique imprimé sur une demi-feuille de plus de quinze décimètres et de moins de trente décimètres carrés, paiera un centime en sus pour chaque cinq décimètres carrés.

Il ne sera perçu aucun droit pour un supplément qui n'excèdera pas trente décimètres carrés, publié par les journaux imprimés sur une feuille de trente décimètres carrés et au-dessus.

La loi du 13 vendémiaire an VI et l'article 89 de la loi du 15 mai 1818 sont et demeurent abrogés.

La loi du 6 prairial an VII est abrogée en ce qui concerne le droit de timbre sur les journaux ou feuilles périodiques.

ART. 3.—Le droit de cinq centimes fixé par l'article 8 de la loi du 15 mars 1827 pour le port sur les journaux et autres feuilles transportés hors des limites du département dans lequel ils sont publiés, sera réduit à quatre centimes.

Les mêmes feuilles ne paieront que deux centimes toutes les fois qu'elles seront destinées pour l'intérieur du département où elles auront été publiées.

ART. 4.—Les journaux imprimés en langues étrangères et ceux venant des pays d'outre-mer seront taxés au maximum du tarif établi pour les journaux français.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous ce jourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le quatorzième jour du mois de décembre l'an 1830.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

A Paris, le 15 Décembre 1830.

Loi sur la Procédure en matière de délits de la Presse, d'affichage et de criage public.

A Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8 avril, 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi des Français, à tous présens et à venir, salut. Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit:

Art. 1.—Le ministère public aura la faculté de saisir les cours d'assises de la connaissance des délits commis par la voie de la presse, ou par les autres moyens de publication énoncés en l'article 1 de la loi du 17 mai 1819, en vertu de citation donnée directement au prévenu.

La même faculté existera en cas de poursuites contre les afficheurs et crieurs publics, en exécution des articles 5 et 6 de la loi du 10 décembre 1830.

Art. 2.—Le ministère public adressera son réquisitoire au président de la cour d'assises, pour obtenir indication du jour auquel le prévenu sera sommé de comparaître.

Il sera tenu d'articuler et de qualifier les provocations, attaques, offenses, outrages, faits diffamatoires ou injures, à raison desquels la poursuite est intentée, et ce, à peine de nullité de la poursuite. Le président fixera le jour de la comparution devant la cour d'assises, et commettra l'huissier qui sera chargé de la notification.

La notification du réquisitoire et de l'ordonnance du président sera faite au prévenu dix jours au moins avant celui de la comparution, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance.

Si le prévenu ne comparaît pas au jour fixé, il sera jugé par défaut: la cour statuera sans assistance ni intervention de jurés, tant sur l'action publique que sur l'action civile.

Art. 3.—Le prévenu pourra former opposition à l'arrêt par défaut dans les cinq jours de la notification qui en aura été faite à sa personne ou à son domicile, outre un jour par cinq myriamètres de distance, à charge de notifier son opposition tant au ministère public qu'à la partie civile.

Le prévenu supportera sans recours les frais de l'expédition et de la signification de l'arrêt par défaut, et de l'opposition, ainsi que de l'assignation et de la taxe des témoins appelés à l'audience pour le jugement de l'opposition.

Art. 4.—Dans les cinq jours de la notification de l'opposition, le prévenu devra déposer au greffe une requête tendant à obtenir du président de la cour d'assises une ordonnance fixant le jour du jugement de l'opposition; elle sera signifiée à la requête du ministère public, tant au prévenu qu'au plaignant, avec assignation au jour fixé, cinq jours au moins avant l'échéance. Faute par le prévenu de remplir les formalités mises à sa charge par le présent article, ou de comparaître par lui-même au jour fixé par l'ordonnance, l'opposition sera réputée non avenue, et l'arrêt par défaut sera définitif.

ARTICLE 5.—Dans le cas de saisie autorisée par l'article 7 de la loi du 26 mai 1819, les formes et délais prescrits par cette loi seront observés.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le huitième jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Loi sur le cautionnement des Journaux ou Ecrits périodiques, paraissant même irrégulièrement.

A Paris, au Palais-Royal, le 8 Avril 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS, à tous présens et à venir, salut. Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit:

ART. 1.— Si un journal ou écrit périodique paraît plus de deux fois par semaine, soit à jour fixe, soit par livraisons et irrégulièrement, le cautionnement sera de deux mille quatre cents francs de rente.

ART. 2.— Le premier paragraphe de l'article 1 de la loi du 14 décembre 1830 est abrogé.

La présente loi, discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets et Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au Palais-Royal, le huitième jour du mois d'avril, l'an 1831.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Loi sur les Crieurs publics.

A Paris, au Palais des Tuileries, le 16 Février, 1834.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi des Français, à tous présens et à venir, salut.

Les Chambres ont adopté, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit :

Art. 1.—Nul ne pourra exercer, même temporairement, la profession de crieur, de vendeur ou de distributeur sur la voie publique, d'écrits, dessins ou emblêmes imprimés, lithographiés, autographiés, moulés, gravés ou à la main, sans autorisation préalable de l'autorité municipale.

Cette autorisation pourra être retirée.

Les dispositions ci-dessus sont applicables aux chanteurs sur la voie publique.

Art. 2.—Toute contravention à la disposition ci-dessus sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six jours à deux mois pour la première fois, et de deux mois à un an en cas de récidive. Les contrevenans seront traduits devant les tribunaux correctionnels, qui pourront, dans tous les cas, appliquer les dispositions de l'article 463 du Code pénal.

La présente loi discutée, délibérée et adoptée par la Chambre des Pairs et par celle des Députés, et sanctionnée par nous cejourd'hui, sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

Donnons en mandement à nos Cours et Tribunaux, Préfets, Corps administratifs, et tous autres, que les présentes ils gardent et maintiennent, fassent garder, observer et maintenir, et, pour les rendre plus notoires à tous, ils les fassent publier et enregistrer partout où besoin sera; et, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous y avons fait mettre notre sceau.

Fait à Paris, au palais des Tuileries, le seizième jour du mois de février, l'an 1834.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS IN PROPORTION TO INHABITANTS.

ONE PAPER TO INHABITANTS.

The Globe. . . .	230,000	Oceàna.	2,200,000
Asia.	14,400,000	Europe.	106,000
Africa.	5,000,000	America.	40,000

STATES OF EUROPE.

Spain	869,000	France	52,117
Russia and Poland .	674,000	Sweden and Norway	47,000
Sardinia	540,000	Britannic Isles . .	48,800
Austrian Empire .	367,471	Germanic Confederation	44,000
Portugal, Grand Duchy of Tuscany	210,000	Prussian Monarchy .	43,070
		Low Countries . .	40,953
Confed. of Switzerland	66,000		

TOWNS.

Rome	51,000	Berlin	4,074
Madrid	50,000	Paris	3,739
Lisbon	21,670	Brussels	3,030
Vienna	11,338	Stockholm . . .	2,600
Petersburg . . .	10,667	Leipsic, Weimar, Jena	1,100
Geneva	6,250	London*	11,250

RELIGION.

"On avait séduit la France," says M. de Châteaubriand, "en lui disant que le christianisme était un culte né du sein de la barbarie, absurde dans ses dogmes, ridicule dans ses cérémonies, ennemi des arts et des lettres, de la raison et de la beauté; un culte qui n'avait fait que verser le sang, enchaîner les hommes, et retarder le bonheur et les lumières du genre humain : on devait donc chercher à prouver, au contraire, que de toutes les religions qui ont jamais existé, la religion chrétienne est la plus *poétique*, la plus humaine, la plus favorable à la liberté, *aux arts et aux lettres*; que le monde moderne lui doit tout, depuis l'agriculture jusqu'aux sciences abstraites; depuis l'hospice pour les malheureux, jusqu'aux temples bâtis par Michel-Ange, et décorés par Raphaël. On devait montrer qu'il n'y a rien de plus divin que sa morale; rien de plus aimable, de plus pompeux que ses dogmes, sa doctrine et son culte : on devait dire qu'elle favorise le génie, *épure le goût*, développe les passions vertueuses, donne de la vigueur à la pensée, offre des formes nobles à l'écrivain, et des moules parfaits à l'artiste; qu'il n'y a point de honte à croire avec Newton et Bossuet, Pascal et Racine : enfin il fallait appeler tous les enchantemens de l'imagination, et tous les intérêts du cœur au secours de cette même religion contre laquelle on les avait armés."—*Génie du Christianisme*, p. 10, 11. vol. I.

* M. A. Balbi.

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

29th December, 1831.

Louis Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come salut!

PAGE 213. The President of the Chamber of Deputies and other legislative assemblies.—The Deputies who shall have been named in three different Parliaments, and who shall, for six years, have exercised their functions.—The Marshals and Admirals of France.—The Lieutenants-General and Vice-Admirals of the armies of land and sea, after two years' rank.—The Ministers of any Department.—Ambassadors after three years, and Ministers Plenipotentiaries after six years' functions.—Councillors of State, after ten years of ordinary service.—The Prefects of Departments or of marine situations, after six years' service.—Colonial Governors after five years' exercise of their functions.—The Members of General Councils formed by election, after three elections to the presidency.—The Mayors of towns, of thirty thousand souls and above, after two elections, at least, as members of the municipal body, and after five years' performance of the functions of mayoralty.—The Presidents of the Court of Cassation and of the Court of Accounts.—The Procureurs-Généraux to these two courts, after five years' service in this quality.—The counsellors of the Court of Cassation, and the *Conseillers-maîtres* of the Court of Accounts, after five years.—The Avocats-Généraux to the Court of Cassation, after ten years' exercise of their duties.—The Premiers-Presidents of the Cours Royales, after five years of magistracy in their courts.—The Procureurs-Généraux to the same courts, after ten years' functions.—The Presidents of the Tribunals of Commerce, in the towns of thirty thousand souls and above, after four nominations to these functions.—*The titular members of the four academies of the Institut.*—The citizens to whom, either by any law or on account of eminent services, there shall have been given a national recompense.—All Proprietors or Heads of any manufacture, or any commercial house paying 3,000 francs of direct contributions, either on account of their landed property during three years, or on account of their patents during five years, when they shall have belonged for six years to a chamber of commerce of a conseil-général.—Proprietors, manufacturers, traders, or bankers, paying 3,000 francs of imposition, who shall have been named Deputies of Judges of the Tribunals of Commerce, *can be admitted at once as peers without any other condition.*

The Titularies who shall have successively exercised the functions above mentioned, can add up their services in all their different branches of employment, in order to complete the time necessary to their elevation.

Shall be dispensed from the time of employment required by the paragraphs 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, above mentioned, the citizens who shall have been named in the year following the 30th July, 1830, to the functions announced in these paragraphs: shall be dispensed in the same manner until the 7th January, 1837, from the time of employment required by the

paragraphs 8, 11, 12, 21, the citizens named or maintained since 30th July, 1830, in the functions announced in these five paragraphs.

These conditions of eligibility can be modified into a law.

The ordinances among peers shall be individual. The ordinances shall mention the services and state the titles on which the nomination shall be founded.

In future, no salary, no pension, no donation, shall be attached to the dignity of peer.

The Present Law discussed, deliberated, and adopted by the Chamber of Peers, and by that of the Deputies, and sanctioned by us this day, shall be executed as a law of the State,

L. PHILIPPE.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

Loi sur la Presse.

(1) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art* 1er "Quiconque, soit par des discours, des cris ou menaces proférés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des écrits, des imprimés, des dessins, des gravures, des peintures ou emblêmes vendus ou distribués, mis en vente, ou exposés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des placards et affiches exposés aux regards du public, aura provoqué l'auteur ou les auteurs de toute action qualifiée crime ou délit à la commettre, sera réputé complice et puni comme tel."

(2) *Code pénal, art.* 86. "L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne du roi est puni de la peine du parricide.—L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne des membres de la famille royale, est puni de la peine de mort.—Toute offense commise publiquement envers la personne du roi, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six mois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de cinq cents francs à dix mille francs; le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'article 42, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Le temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine."

Art. 87. "L'attentat dont le but sera, soit de détruire, soit de changer le gouvernement ou l'ordre de successibilité au trône, soit d'exciter les citoyens ou habitans à s'armer contre l'autorité royale, sera puni de mort."

(3) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 9. "Quiconque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'art. 1er de la présente loi, se sera rendu coupable d'offenses envers la personne du roi, sera puni d'un emprisonnment qui ne pourra être de moins de six mois, ni excéder cinq années, et d'une amende qui ne pourra être au-dessous de 500 francs, ni excéder 10,000 fr.—Le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'art 42 du Code pénal, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Ce temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine." Voir ci-après (6).

(4) *Loi du* 29 *novembre* 1830, *art.* 1er: "Toute attaque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'article 1er de la loi du 17 mai 1819, contre la dignité royale, l'ordre de successibilité au trône, les droits que le roi tient du vœu de la nation française, exprimé dans la déclaration du 7 août 1830, et de la charte constitutionelle, par lui acceptée et jurée dans la séance du 9 août de la même année, son autorité constitutionnelle, l'inviolabilité de sa personne, les droits et l'autorité des chambres, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de trois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de 300 fr. à 6,000 fr."—Art. 2: "L'article 2 de la loi du 25 mars 1822 est et demeure abrogé."

(3) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 8: "Tout outrage à la morale publique et religieuse ou aux bonnes mœurs, par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'art. 1er. sera puni d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à un an et d'une amende de 16 fr. à 500 fr."

(6) *Code pénal, art.* 42: "Les tribunaux, jugeant correctionnellement, pourront, dans certains cas, interdire en tout ou en partie l'exercice des droits civiques, civils et de famille suivans: 1° de vote et d'élection; 2° d'éligibilité; 3° d'être appelé ou nommé aux fonctions de juré ou autres fonctions publiques, ou aux emplois de l'administration, ou d'exercer ces fonctions ou emplois: 4° de port d'armes; 5° de vote et de suffrage dans les délibérations de famille; 6° d'être tuteur, curateur, si ce n'est de ses enfans, et sur l'avis seulement de la famille; 7° d'être expert ou employé comme témoin dans les actes, 8° de témoignage en justice autrement que pour y faire de simples déclarations."

(7) *Loi du* 9 *juin* 1819, *art.* 9. "Les propriétaires ou éditeurs responsables d'un journal ou écrit périodique, ou auteur ou rédacteur d'articles imprimés dans ledit journal ou écrit, prévenus de crimes ou délits pour fait de publication, seront poursuivis et jugés dans les formes et suivant les distinctions prescrites à l'égard de toutes les autres publications." Art. 10. "En cas de condamnations, les mêmes peines leur seront appliquées: toutefois les amendes pourront être élevées au double, et en cas de récidive portées au quadruple sans préjudice des peines de la récidive prononcées par le Code pénal."

(8) *Loi du* 18 *juillet* 1828, *art.* 3: "Seront exempts de tout cautionnement:

"1° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui ne paraissent qu'une fois par mois ou plus rarement.

"2° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques exclusivement consacrés, soit aux sciences mathématiques, physiques, et naturelles, soit aux travaux et recherches d'érudition, soit aux arts mécaniques et libéraux, c'est-à-dire aux sciences et aux arts dont s'occupent les trois académies des sciences, des inscriptions et des beaux-arts de l'Institut royal.

"3° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et exclusivement consacrés aux lettres ou autres branches de connaissances non spécifiées précédemment, pourvu qu'ils ne paraissent au plus que deux fois par semaine.

"4° Tous les écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et qui seront publiés dans une autre langue que la langue française.

" 5o Les feuilles périodiques, exclusivement consacrées aux avis, annonces, affiches judiciaires, arrivages maritimes, mercuriales et prix courans.

" Toute contravention aux dispositions du présent article sera punie conformément à l'art. 6 de la loi du 9 juin 1819." (Voir note 9.)

(9) *Loi du 9 juin* 1819, *art.* 6. " Quiconque publiera un journal ou écrit périodique sans avoir satisfait aux conditions prescrites par les articles 1, 4 et 5 de la présente loi, sera puni correctionnellement d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à six mois, et d'une amende de deux cents francs à douze cents francs."

(10) *Loi du 18 juillet* 1828, *art.* 8 : " Chaque numéro de l'écrit périodique sera signé en minute par le propriétaire, s'il est unique; par l'un des gérans responsables, si l'écrit périodique est publié par une société en nom collectif ou en commandite; et par l'un des administrateurs, s'il est publié par une société anonyme.—L'exemplaire signé pour minute sera, au moment de la publication, déposé au parquet du procureur du roi du lieu de l'impression, à la mairie dans les villes où il n'y a pas de tribunal de première instance, ou à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre les gérans. Il sera donné récépissé du dépôt.—La signature sera imprimée au bas de tous les exemplaires, à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre l'imprimeur, sans que la révocation du brevet puisse s'ensuivre.—Les signataires de chaque feuille ou livraison seront responsables de son contenu et passibles de toutes les peines portées par la loi à raison de la publication des articles ou passages incriminés, sans préjudice de la poursuite contre l'auteur ou les auteurs desdits articles ou passages, comme complices. En conséquence, les poursuites judiciaires pourront être dirigées, tant contre les signataires des feuilles ou livraisons, que contre l'auteur ou les auteurs des passages incriminés, si ces auteurs peuvent être connus ou mis en cause."

(11) *Loi du 25 mars* 1822, *art.* 11 : " Les propriétaires ou éditeurs de tout journal ou écrit périodique seront tenus d'y insérer, dans les trois jours de la réception, ou dans le plus prochain numéro, s'il n'en était pas publié avant l'expiration des trois jours, la réponse de toute personne nommée ou désignée dans le journal ou écrit periodique, sous peine d'une amende de 50 fr. à 500 fr.; sans préjudice des autres peines et dommages-intérêts auxquels l'article incriminé pourrait donner lieu. Cette insertion sera gratuite, et la réponse pourra avoir le double de la longueur de l'article auquel elle sera faite."

ALL PASSAGES OR WORDS NOT TRANSLATED IN THE TEXT WILL BE FOUND AMONG THE FOLLOWING:

Page 25.—NEANT—is equivalent to CHAOS.

Page 30.—The Jesuits with short gowns—The Seids of power.

Page 37.—The temple of the Newspaper-office.

—The responsibility of the National rests from this day entirely upon my head; if any man shall indulge himself in gross abuse of that paper, he will find one who will call him to an account.

Page 53.—His Most Christian Majesty.

Page 54.—The Stag Park.

Page 59.—The Church Party—and the self-styled Royalist Party.

Page 60.—Down with the Jesuits.

Page 52.—But he is a Methodist, is he not?

Well, I will tell you what passed between him and me.

You are a Protestant, I suppose, Sir?

No, Sir, I am no Protestant.

You are no Protestant, and no Catholic; are you then a Mahometan or a Jew?

No, I am neither Protestant, Catholic, Mahometan, nor Jew.

What religion are you of, then?

Sir, I profess the religion of Socrates.

Well, will you believe me? this member of your House of Commons appeared much shocked.

Page 66.—A box at the theatre, obscured from public view by railing.

Page 66.—A cassock.

Page 72.—The Clergy under Oath of 1789.

The Clergy of the Romish party.

The late dispute between M. de la Mennais and the Pope deprived him, no doubt, in some degree of that title of which he was formerly ostentatious.

Page 73.—" The Words of a Believer," by the Abbé de la Mennais.

Page 77.—Mixed Churches.

Page 79.—A district town.

Page 80.—Deacons.

Page 82.—The pastors and deputies of the churches, present at Paris at the sitting of the religious associations, and met in a brotherly conference on Wednesday, April 24, 1822, in the hall of the consistory of the Church of the Oratory, unanimously agreed:

1stly. That, henceforth, in each year, on the day of General Assembly of the Biblical Society, at 9 o'clock in the morning, the co-pastors and suffragan-pastors of the National Churches of the two Evangelical Congregations,

and the lay-deputies of the said churches, shall meet in brotherly conference.

2ndly. That these conferences shall commence with solemn prayer.

3rdly. That the sitting shall continue under the Presidency of the Dean by seniority of the pastors, by the nomination, by secret ballot, of a President and a Secretary, who shall immediately enter on their functions.

4thly. That these sittings shall re-commence daily at the same hour.

5thly. That the verified report of conferences shall be lithographed, or printed, and be transmitted to all the churches, and to all the pastors throughout France.

6thly. That the pastors of the two congregations of Paris shall form a committee of correspondence with the consistories and pastors, shall give them information of the present resolutions, and shall prepare, as far as possible, the documents and subjects for discussion.

Page 92.—Letters to the Board of Longitude.

Letters on the *Encyclopédie.*

An introduction to the scientific works of the nineteenth century.

" Memoirs" upon Gravitation.

Page 98.—The theory of the four movements.

Page 100.—O my cotemporaries! I see you all in search of a religion, neither for yourselves, nor for your immediate posterity; but each day in your reveries, the word religion hangs upon your lip.

Page 108.—The custom of fallows was formerly general in Normandy, but it is every day passing away. At the beginning of this century, this custom might be esteemed, or the department in general, to extend over only half the soil it extended over in 1790 and 92, and now it is only seen in one tenth of the land consecrated to cultivation.—*M. Lorid.*

Page 120.—To the War-office.

Page 122.—*Note.*—The division of landed estates, which has taken place in every quarter of the kingdom, has caused an independence more uniformly diffused; it has given the means for wealth and health to numerous families which partook not of them at any earlier period. Moreover, the new channels of industry have given work to many artisans and labourers.

On the Productive and Commercial Means.

In contemplating the rapid progress which France has made in agriculture.

Page 132.—Each of us could, more or less easily, fulfil a task, easy for the government, more difficult for individuals, not indeed for the whole of France, but for some particular spot, which, once known, would lead to an appreciation of the rest.

* * * * * * * * *

I have done it, Gentlemen, in part for the arrondissement, which is more particularly known to me, and in the prosperity of which gratitude and all the sentiments of nature command me to feel a more particular interest.

With a small exception, all the inhabitants are proprietors. The love of

property is pushed to its greatest extent; among the fathers of families and among their children; among the rich, and among the poor—it is the prevailing want and sentiment of all.

* * * * * * * * *

The equal partition of successions is the most common and general rule; there, as in the great majority of the other arrondissements of France, the persons at their ease dispose rarely of the share at their disposition. The examples of it are few, I know none near me in any class of society, the peasants excepted; and with these it is not the whole "préciput" which they dispose of, but this or that piece of land; not from any habitual preference in favour of the eldest, but more often from gratitude to that one of their children who has remained near them, partaken of their labours, and taken care of their age.

Well, in that arrondissement—*instead* of the *division of property having increased* within the last twelve years, property has agglomerated.

In 1815, the number of persons paying the tax was forty-two thousand and some hundreds; in 1825, by a diminution, gradual and successive, this figure is reduced to about forty thousand. So that the agglomeration in ten years has been about two thousand proprietors, or about two-fortieths.

I do not pretend that it is thus in every arrondissement in the kingdom; nevertheless, all the other isolated information, which others of my colleagues have had the kindness to show me, are far from contrary to the example which I have just been citing.—*Duc de Decazes.*

Page 134.—In the Lower Pyrenees, the law of inheritance is readily followed out in the customary division of paternal lands—and there is but little parcelling out of estates.

The parcelling out is caused by the desire of each child inheriting, to have a portion of each description of land.

Page 136.—When I inhabited the ports of Flanders, and more especially those of Provence, I was always astonished to hear the people of the country distinguish the persons born in the centre of France, calling them "Francists" and treating them as strangers..... When, in 1825 and 1826, I occupied myself with procuring, from the working classes of our departments, the most simple elements of the sciences, applied to the arts, I fell into an astonishment, from which I can hardly yet return, in seeing, that on all the points of our immense frontiers, at Bayonne as at Dunkerque, at Strasbourg as at Quimper, at Montpellier as at Mulhouse, one of the greatest obstacles that the professors had encountered, was in the difficulty they had to make intelligible the French language, so expressive and correct, to men who can only think with facility by the aid of strange idioms and a barbarous patois. —*Ch. Dupin.*

Page 156.—Even already, said M. Pasquier, consequences resulting therefrom have arisen in that country (England), which imperatively demand the attention of legislators and statesmen. Whoever does not shut his eyes to all the chances of afflictions, with which the manufacturing classes are con-

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